JUNE 12, 2017

TIME

THE GOOD SON

The Trials of Jared Kushner

By Karl Vick

time.com

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THE TRUST **FOR PUBLIC LAND**

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VOL. 189, NO. 22 | 2017

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Jared Kushner sits behind Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, left, and President Trump at a March 13 Cabinet meeting at the White House

Photograph by Jonathan Ernst—Reuters

ON THE COVER: *Photograph by Jabin Botsford—The Washington Post/ Getty Images*

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What you said about ...

THE WEIGHT LOSS TRAP Alexandra Sifferlin's June 5 cover story on the science of dieting prompted many readers to share their own struggles with losing weight. The article "hit a nerve" with Harold Jacobson, 72, of Macomb, Mich., who said he's been struggling to keep his weight in check for the past 20 years. "The truth about weight loss is that most Americans fall for quick-fix gimmicks," said Ana Hotaling of Chelsea, Mich., who noted that she shed pounds without touching diet pills, powders, shakes or subscription meals. Wayne Williams of Adelphi, Md., wondered why the article didn't mention the ubiquity of processed food in today's American diet, while several bariatric surgeons wondered the same about surgical treatments for obesity. Meanwhile, Steven Lowrance of West Lafayette, Ind., pointed out that the "thoughtful" examination of the science behind healthy weight loss doesn't exist in a vacuum: the very same issue featured a positive review of the new *Baywatch* movie and the anything-but-everyday physiques it puts on display. "The irony," he wrote, "was as delicious as it was sad."

> 'There are plenty of successful weight-loss stories out there; don't be afraid to seek them out.'
>
> **THOMAS H. PAULL**, Whitewater, Wis.

THE JFK CENTENNIAL "Rarely does journalism intersect with literature as vividly as in David Von Drehle's View piece," wrote Richard Agins of Chandler, Ariz., in response to Von Drehle's June 5 reflection of the 100th anniversary of John F. Kennedy's birth. JFK's words remain timely, added Helen Eschenbacher of Temple, Ga., who emphasized his message about the U.S.'s role in the world and its relevance when "being global is the only way to think in the 21st century." Meanwhile, Bob Taylor of Portales, N.M., had a different takeaway from the article: "America can be great again," he wrote, "when most of her citizens believe their government is doing the right things."

STATE OF RUIN TIME's photo team asked eight photojournalists documenting Venezuela's ongoing governmental and economic crisis to share the image they found most moving. Manaure Quintero chose this picture, above, of a tear-gassed woman in Caracas in April because it shows that "people who used to be afraid to demonstrate, the older generation, are now in the streets." See all the photos at **time.com/venezuela-photographers**

BONUS *TIME* HEALTH

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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▸ In For the Record (June 5), we misidentified Melania Trump's birthplace. It is Slovenia. We also misstated the dollar amount attributed to "double counting" in President Trump's budget. It is $2.1 trillion.

PICTURING HEALTH A new video explores advances in the treatment of Parkinson's in the years since 1959, when legendary photographer Margaret Bourke-White *(above)* gave LIFE a deep look at her own experience with the disease. Watch it at **life.time.com**

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‘We want to live another day, we want to live another month.’

TERESITO SUGANOB, Catholic priest in the Philippines, pleading for help in a video statement claiming that ISIS-linked militants have taken him and 200 others captive and are demanding that the nation’s military withdraw troops from the besieged city of Marawi; it was unclear when the video was made

234,000,000

Number of passengers U.S. airlines anticipate transporting from June through August, according to trade group Airlines for America; this would top last year’s record 225 million for the same period

7

Hours waited by some to take the **new *Guardians of the Galaxy* ride,** which debuted on May 27 at Disney California Adventure Park

5,995

Points **scored in the NBA playoffs by LeBron James** as of May 25, the night he topped Michael Jordan’s 20-year record of 5,987

‘I would shoot him in self-defense.’

MATT RINALDI, Republican Texas state representative, responding on Facebook to allegations he threatened to gun down Democratic colleague Poncho Nevárez during a scuffle; Rinaldi had called federal immigration officials to detain people protesting an anti-sanctuary-cities law in the statehouse and claimed Nevárez threatened him first, which Nevárez denied

Sun
NASA announced a launch date for a mission to “touch the sun”

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Moon
President Moon Jae-in learned South Korea received U.S. missile launchers without his O.K.

‘THEY DIDN’T HAVE CAPES. THEY WERE JUST HUMAN BEINGS.’

ELLIE EATON, Portland, Ore., activist, speaking at a vigil for the three men stabbed—two fatally—on May 26 while trying to defend two girls who were being bombarded by a man yelling anti-Muslim slurs; Eaton added, “We all have the capacity to be like [them]”

‘THE TIMES IN WHICH WE COULD FULLY RELY ON OTHERS—THEY ARE SOMEWHAT OVER.’

ANGELA MERKEL, German Chancellor, referring on May 28 to her inability to see eye to eye with President Trump on core issues such as NATO, Russia, climate change and trade at the most recent G-7 summit

‘It is clearly disgusting and completely inappropriate.’

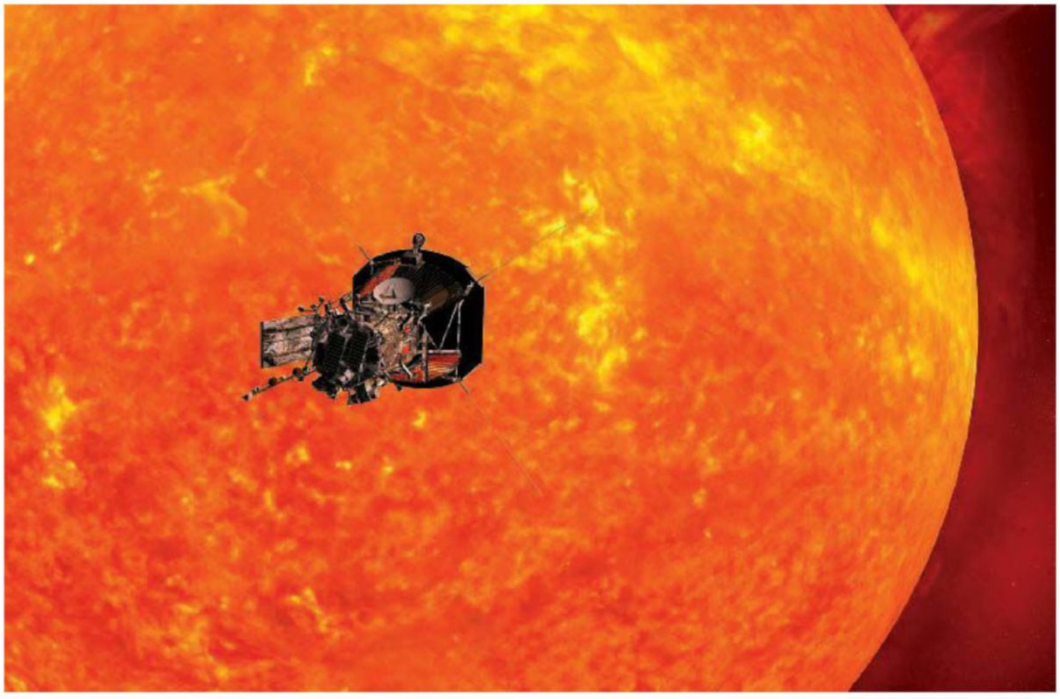
ANDERSON COOPER, TV anchor, condemning images posted by comedian Kathy Griffin on social media of her holding a fake severed head of President Trump, for which she later apologized; CNN denounced the images as “offensive” and fired Griffin, who had co-hosted the network’s New Year’s Eve special with Cooper since 2007

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; NBA; THE OREGONIAN

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

'SOME OF THE PEOPLE FLEEING THE UPHEAVALS IN VENEZUELA HAVE MADE THEIR WAY TO CHILE.' —PAGE 10



A NASA rendering of the Parker Solar Probe, which will get closer to Earth's star than ever before

SCIENCE

NASA hopes to make history with its latest mission—to the sun

By Jeffrey Kluger

NO SPACECRAFT WILL EVER LAND ON the surface of the sun—it's a flaming ball of gas that reaches thousands of degrees even in its coolest regions. But next year, a ship from Earth will fly closer to its fires than ever before in a mission that represents a big development not just for scientists but, potentially, for everyone else.

In September 2018, NASA plans to launch a probe that will journey nearly 90 million miles, eventually flying within 3.8 million miles of the sun. The Parker Solar Probe is expected to reach the sun's outer envelope of fiery gases, known as the corona, by November of that year, providing new insights not only into our home star but into all stars—which is no small thing, given that the closest star system is an unreachable four light-years away. That's 24 trillion miles. The sun, just 93 million miles away, is well within our reach.

That doesn't mean getting there is easy. Even as NASA probes have sailed past Pluto and out of the solar system entirely, the sun has mostly been a no-go zone. Designing a spacecraft tough enough to take the sun's thermal punishment has proved difficult—not that that's stopped astronomers from trying. All the way back in 1958, Eugene Parker—a young physicist at the University of Chicago, whose name the new spacecraft bears—published a paper about what we now call solar wind: the high-speed storms of stellar particles and magnetism that stream from the sun. Ever since his discovery, Parker, now 89, has been campaigning for a

ILLUSTRATION BY JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY APPLIED PHYSICS LABORATORY

close-up mission to the sun. At last the technology is available.

After its launch, the unmanned spacecraft will enter a preliminary solar orbit and then make seven flybys of Venus, using the planet's gravity to edge closer and closer to the sun. Ultimately, the ship will be so close that it will make a single trip around the sun in just 88 days—a quick trip compared with Earth's poky 365 days. At its peak speeds, the Parker Solar Probe will move fast enough to get from Philadelphia to Washington in a second.

While temperatures in the corona can reach 1 million°F, the probe will limit itself to regions where things get no hotter than 2,500°F. Still, that's four times as hot as the melting point of lead—a heavy heat load for a spacecraft that will cost $1.5 billion to build, launch and operate. But a 4.5-in. carbon-composite heat shield will allow the probe's camera and suite of scientific instruments to operate at a comfortable room temperature.

There are many reasons for the mission that go beyond bragging rights. For starters, scientists may learn why the million-degree coronasphere—which ought to be cooled by its direct contact with space—is up to 100 times as hot as the 10,000°F surface of the sun. Scientists have a number of theories as to why that might be. Some think it's due to the waves of plasma that rise from the sun and crash back down, causing localized superheating that warms the corona. Others think that sudden realignments in the sun's magnetism could be the cause. It's impossible to know for certain, however, until we get up close.

NASA says the data it collects could also provide insight into the physics of stars at large. Our sun may be special to us, but it's rather common in the sweep of space; the better we understand how it works, the better we understand all stars of its mass and color.

Perhaps most important is what the probe may reveal about the cause and nature of solar storms, stellar eruptions that can turn solar wind into a solar gale, wreaking havoc far beyond the perimeter of the sun. During solar storms, charged particles streaming through the solar system can disable communications satellites and shut down electrical grids over vast swaths of the planet.

A National Academy of Sciences study revealed that a particularly ferocious storm could cause up to $2 trillion in damage in the U.S. alone and black out the Eastern seaboard for a year. A better understanding of what causes the eruptions might enable us to predict them—and protect ourselves in advance. That could make even a mission with a billion-plus price tag one of NASA's great bargains. ◻

TICKER

N.J. town pays out over mosque

A mosque denied planning permission in a New Jersey town in 2015 will go ahead as planned, after Bernards Township settled a pair of lawsuits over religious discrimination. The town will also pay the local Islamic society $3.25 million.

Tamir Rice killer fired from police

The police officer who fatally shot 12-year-old Tamir Rice in November 2014 was fired from the Cleveland force after an investigation of more than two years into the child's death. Officer Timothy Loehmann was dismissed for inaccuracies on his job application, not for the Rice shooting.

Trudeau: Pope should say sorry

Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau urged Pope Francis to travel to Canada to apologize for the Catholic Church's role in placing thousands of indigenous children in residential schools, where they were abused, for more than a century.

U.S. tests missile defense

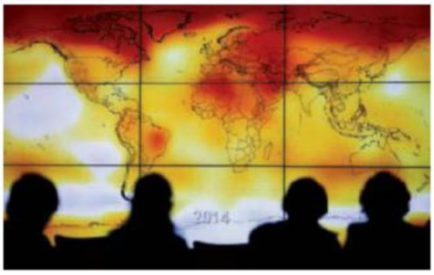
The U.S. military successfully intercepted an intercontinental ballistic missile for the first time in a test on May 30, a day after North Korea launched the latest in a series of ballistic missile tests.

CLIMATE CHANGE

The perils of pulling out of Paris

President Trump told aides he plans to withdraw from the Paris Agreement. Here are three possible consequences.

—Justin Worland



The deal aims to keep temperatures from rising by more than 3.6°F (2°C) by 2100

A WEAKENED TREATY

The U.S. is the world's largest economy and its second greatest polluter. Experts worry that if the U.S. abandons its public commitment to combat climate change—a move that could negatively impact the global effort to lower carbon emissions—it may trigger other countries to follow suit, weakening the accord.

LOST ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

In 2016, there was a nearly $300 billion global investment in clean energy—a figure that was expected to grow with the accord, since fighting climate change means embracing renewable energy. A U.S. withdrawal from the Paris Agreement could signal to investors that the U.S. has little interest in capturing that market.

GLOBAL ALIENATION

A U.S. withdrawal will likely be seen as an affront to U.S. allies in Europe, weakening key relationships. It will put the U.S. in the position of being a lone dissenter in climate-change discussions, and could result in the U.S. being excluded from high-level diplomatic gatherings altogether.

DIGITS

759

Number of treaties the U.K. will have to renegotiate after leaving the E.U., according to an analysis by the *Financial Times*. The country will have to rewrite treaties on trade, customs and more with an estimated 168 other countries

SCANDAL-WEARY Orlando Caldeira embraces his mother during a May 28 protest and concert in Rio de Janeiro calling for Brazilian President Michel Temer to resign amid the country's ongoing graft scandal. Temer, whose predecessor Dilma Rousseff was impeached last year, is himself under investigation over allegations of corruption. He said on May 30 that his government would stay on until the next election, currently scheduled for 2018. *Photograph by Mario Tama—Getty Images*

HUMAN RIGHTS

The world won't ignore Chechnya's purge of gay men

FRENCH PRESIDENT EMMANUEL MACRON URGED Russian President Vladimir Putin to ensure the rights of LGBT people in Chechnya on May 29, the same day France welcomed its first gay Chechen refugee. The meeting followed reports of alleged persecution of gay men in the Russian republic.

DEADLY PURGE The Russian newspaper *Novaya Gazeta* reported in April that at least 100 men in Chechnya suspected of being gay had been tortured in detention facilities by authorities. Some were outed to their families upon release, prompting a spate of honor killings in the Muslim-majority region. The newspaper said 26 people had been killed as of May 22.

GLOBAL RESPONSE German Chancellor Angela Merkel urged Putin to investigate the claims, and Nikki Haley, the U.S. ambassador to the U.N., said the situation "cannot be ignored." The scrutiny has led to a halt in detentions, Human Rights Watch says, but Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov says an investigation has found no evidence of persecution. Chechen President Ramzan Kadyrov denies that gay people exist in the region.

ASYLUM NEEDED About 40 Chechens have fled the region, according to a Russian LGBT advocacy group, but they are struggling to find safe haven outside Russia. Alongside France, Lithuania has taken in refugees, and Canada is reportedly considering opening its doors. The U.S., however, said no visa exists for this kind of "humanitarian relief."

—TARA JOHN

‹ *Macron* (right) *raised concerns with Putin about gay rights in Chechnya*

WORLD MAP: STÉPHANE MAHÉ—REUTERS; MACRON, PUTIN: GETTY IMAGES

DATA

LIGHTS, CAMERA, ACTION

The top filming location for 2016's 100 highest-grossing movies was the state of Georgia, according to a study by Film L.A. Here's where else Hollywood goes to shoot:

17 movies
Georgia, U.S.

16
U.K.

13
Canada

12
California, U.S.

6
New York, U.S.

2
France

THE RISK REPORT

Chile's President on her country's fitful progress and future challenges

By Ian Bremmer/Santiago

CHILE HAS LONG BEEN SOUTH AMERICA's good-news story, but the narrative has taken some twists and turns of late. During Michelle Bachelet's first presidential term, more than a decade ago, when emerging markets were booming, Chile's GDP rate hit 5%. Then came a devastating earthquake in 2010 just as Sebastián Piñera came to power. Piñera raised taxes to help pay for reconstruction, but global economic conditions soon began to take a toll. Demand for Chile's commodity exports slowed, and higher taxes and sluggish growth made Piñera unpopular. In Chile, Presidents can't serve consecutive terms, and Bachelet was again elected President in 2013 on pledges of free higher education, steeper business taxes and tighter regulation. Government for the people, not for the bankers and corporations, she promised. But keeping those promises became impossible as export prices continued to fall. Growth is now below 2%. Inbound investment is down. Jobs are scarce. Bachelet's current term ends in November.

When we met recently, I asked her, Where does Chile go from here? "We can't grow along the same path," she said. As Chile gets closer to the income levels of developed countries after decades of high growth, she explained, "people empowered by positive change are demanding quick solutions to problems. How do we build an intelligent plan for growth over decades, while responding to citizens' immediate demands for less inequality and more opportunity? We must do both."

One way may be through global trade, even as skepticism about globalization grows. Bachelet supports Chile's membership in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), the multinational trade deal that became a political football in last year's U.S. presidential election. President Trump has withdrawn the U.S. from the pact, but Chile backs the efforts of Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and others to press on with TPP.

I asked Bachelet if Trump has made Chile's relations with the U.S. more challenging. The relationship is "very strong," she assured me. "Our bilateral agenda covers trade, investment, energy, education, innovation and security." She also reminded me that Chile is the only Latin American country that participates in the U.S. visa-waiver program—and that the U.S. has a trade surplus with Chile, a point Trump will appreciate amid squabbles with Mexico and Germany over the balance of trade.

> Donald Trump and Michelle Bachelet have one tough issue in common: immigration

Trump and Bachelet have one tough issue in common: immigration. Some of the people fleeing the upheavals in neighboring Venezuela have made their way to Chile. I asked Bachelet if Chile needs to tighten its immigration policy. "Chile is a country of migration," she said, pointing out that many of the immigrants coming from Venezuela are young and well-educated. But she acknowledged that her government is "developing a new migration policy," one that will grant not just rights but "obligations" to immigrants.

This election year hasn't yet persuaded Chile to turn its back on trade or migrants, but voters need to see the good news in globalization if the embrace is to continue. ◻

Milestones

Brzezinski's sharp elbows and intellect served him well as a Washington insider

DIED

Zbigniew Brzezinski
Cold Warrior and presidential adviser

TO UNDERSTAND ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, you first had to grasp his distrust of Moscow.

Even until his death on May 26 at age 89, the Polish-born, Harvard-credentialed former National Security Adviser to President Jimmy Carter remained among the rarified ranks of celebrity scholars, up there with Henry Kissinger, a predecessor to whom he was always compared. Zbig, as his friends knew him, worked for Democrats, although he was to the right of many Republicans when it came to the Soviet Union. To curb communism, he tacitly backed Pol Pot's regime in Cambodia and favored the Islamic militants battling the Soviets in Afghanistan.

An adviser to John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson earlier, Brzezinski gave a critical eye to the six Presidents that followed Carter. While he chose his words carefully, he seldom censored them. —PHILIP ELLIOTT

DIED

Manuel Antonio Noriega

Panama's strongman

HE WAS KNOWN TO HIS FANS AS EL MAN AND to his critics as Pineapple Face because of his acne scars. Manuel Antonio Noriega, who died on May 29 at 83, was always a Janus, shifting from U.S. ally to enemy too often to keep track.

When Noriega came to power in Panama as a military commander in 1983, he was seen by the U.S. as a bulwark against leftist influence in Latin America. But reports soon circulated of his involvement in drug and arms smuggling and selling U.S. secrets to Cuba. His behavior grew increasingly eccentric and brutal, and the U.S. invaded in 1989, in part to put an end to his reign.

Noriega went from despot to convict, jailed in the U.S. for drug offenses and finally in his homeland for crimes committed during his murderous regime. One of the last photos taken of him, in 2011, shows him in a sweaty prison mug shot, his true face exposed at last.

—KATE SAMUELSON

Noriega ruled Panama with an iron fist from 1983 until he was ousted by a U.S. invasion in 1989

DIED

Gregg Allman

Progenitor of Southern rock

AS A FOUNDING MEMBER OF the Allman Brothers Band, Gregg Allman synthesized blues, jazz, country and soul with the expansive groove of a jam band, ushering in the genre that came to be known as Southern rock. With his brother Duane, Allman formed the racially integrated group in Florida in 1969—a powerful statement at a time when segregation remained in practice if not the law. Anchored by Allman's rhythmic keyboards and whiskey-tinged voice, the band found some success on radio, but its reputation was forged through a barnstorming tour schedule and epic live concerts.

Allman's joyful, blues-drenched live shows often lasted for hours

Allman kept it up for more than four decades, through all manner of grief, addiction and illness, until his death on May 27, at his home in Savannah, Ga. He was 69. While a prolific career will ensure his legacy, Allman may be best remembered for his soulful, growling voice, which Sheryl Crow once said "sounded like he'd already lived a thousand lifetimes." —SAM LANSKY

DIED
Sportswriter and novelist **Frank Deford,** who contributed to *Sports Illustrated* from 1962 until his death, at 78. In 2013, Deford was awarded the National Humanities Medal by President Obama for "transforming how we think about sports."

› **Laura Biagiotti,** Italian fashion designer nicknamed the Queen of Cashmere, at 73.

WON
The Indianapolis 500, by **Takuma Sato,** the first Japanese driver to win the contest.

ARRESTED
Golf champion **Tiger Woods,** under suspicion of driving under the influence. Woods, who said alcohol was not a factor in his arrest, was taken into custody for a few hours in Jupiter, Fla.

ENDED
Production of the **PlayStation 3,** by Sony. The game console has sold about 83 million units since its 2006 launch.

HIT
The **$1,000 mark,** by Amazon shares, in early trading on May 30. The shares were worth $18 when the firm went public in May 1997.

LightBox

Rough waters

Migrants rescued by Migrant Offshore Aid Station, a Malta-based NGO, look out as they near Crotone in southern Italy on May 26. More than 60,000 people have crossed the central Mediterranean this year, according to the U.N. Refugee Agency. Another 1,720 are dead or missing.

Photograph by Chris McGrath—Getty Images

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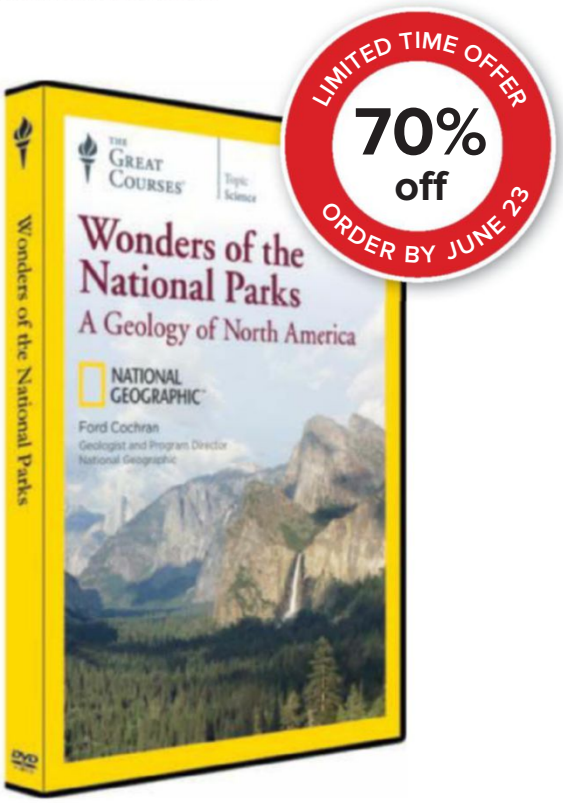

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2. Yellowstone's Cataclysmic Origins and Future
3. Grand Teton and Jackson Hole
4. Hawaii Volcanoes: Earth's Largest Mountains
5. The Hawaiian Islands and Maui's Haleakala
6. Mount Saint Helens, Lassen Volcanic, Rainier
7. Crater Lake, Olympic, North Cascades
8. Volcanoes of Alaska: Katmai and Lake Clark
9. Alaska's Glacier Bay and Kenai Fjords
10. Yosemite: Nature's Cathedral
11. Redwoods, Sequoias, and the Sierra Nevada
12. Pinnacles to Joshua Tree: The San Andreas
13. Denali to Gates of the Arctic
14. Death Valley and Great Basin: The Rift Zone
15. Shenandoah: The Collision of Old Continents
16. Great Smoky Mountains and Hot Springs
17. National Rivers: Gorges, Falls, and Meanders
18. Great Dune Fields of North America
19. National Seashores and Lakeshores
20. Reefs: Virgin Islands, Florida, Texas
21. National Marine Sanctuaries and Monuments
22. Acadia's Highlands and Islands
23. The Dakota Badlands
24. The Grand Canyon's 2-Billion-Year Staircase
25. Carving the Grand Canyon
26. Petrified Forest and Other Fossil Parks
27. Bryce Canyon, Canyonlands, Arches
28. Zion, Gunnison's Black Canyon, Capitol Reef
29. Mesa Verde and Ancient Settlements
30. The Colorado Rocky Mountains
31. Montana's Glacier and the Canadian Rockies
32. Big Bend on the Rio Grande and Saguaro
33. Mammoth Cave, Wind Cave, Carlsbad Caverns
34. The Everglades and the Congaree Bottomland
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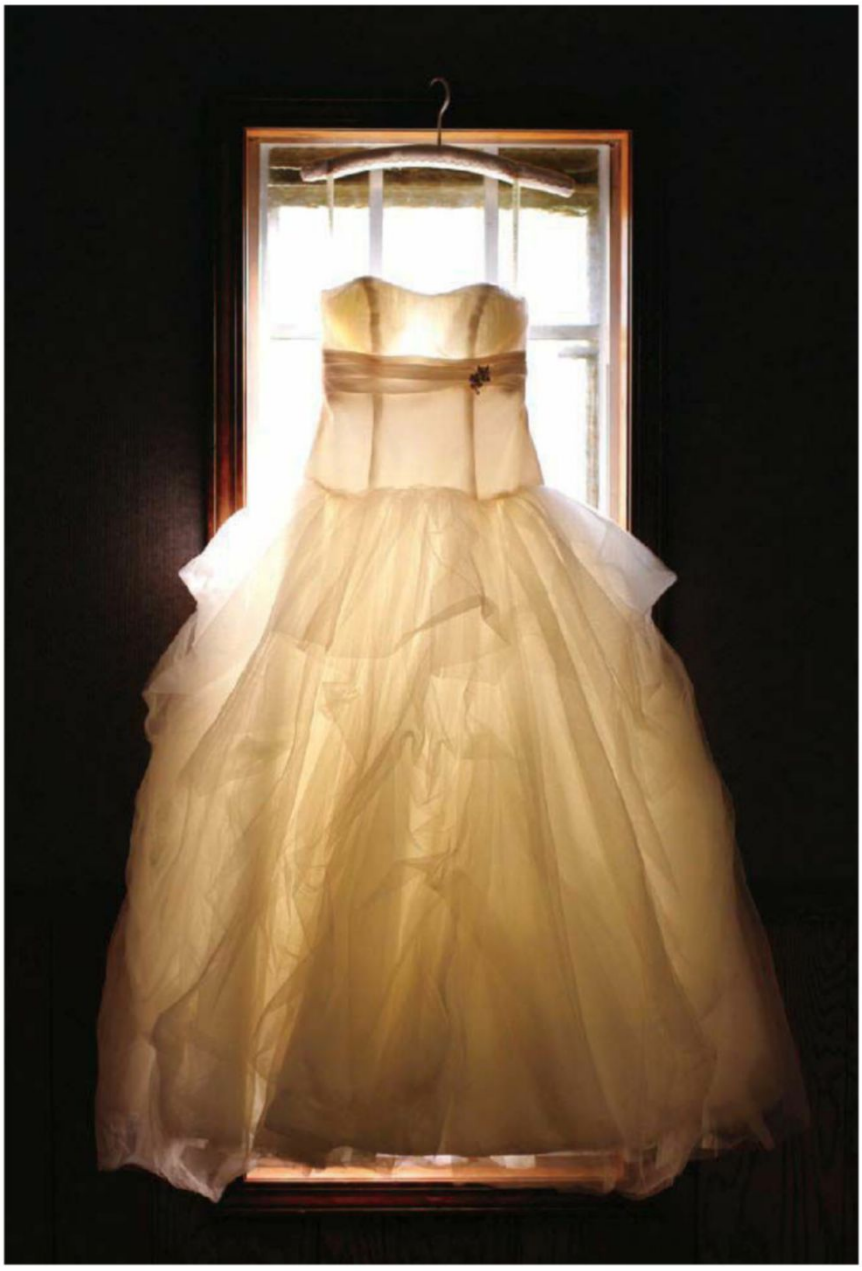
The View

'AMERICA CAN'T OPT OUT OF A NETWORKED WORLD. TO SUCCEED, ALL OF US HAVE TO OPT IN.' —PAGE 20

SOCIETY

Why it's still legal for underage girls to marry in the U.S.

By Charlotte Alter



Nearly every state in the U.S. allows children to legally marry

GETTY IMAGES

MOST GIRL SCOUTS SPEND THEIR time learning survival skills and selling cookies. But Cassandra Levesque, 18, spent her last year in Girl Scouts drafting and then campaigning for a bill that would raise New Hampshire's minimum marriage age from 13 to 18.

Under New Hampshire law—as in most other U.S. states—minors can marry as long as they have parental consent and a judge signs off. "Every girl dreams about what their wedding is going to be like," says Levesque, "but some girls are having a wedding that they never dreamed of. They're being put into relationships that they're not ready for."

Last year Levesque contacted her state representative Jacalyn Cilley about the teen marriage laws in New Hampshire and began drafting a bill to reform the law. In January, Cilley introduced the bill to prohibit all marriages under 16. The bill was later amended to abolish marriages for people under 18, before it was defeated by state house Republicans in March.

Representative David Bates, who led the campaign against the bill, argued that it was important to preserve the option for legal teen marriage in a few key scenarios, such as when a teenager is pregnant and wants to marry the father of her child, or when a teenager is serving in the armed forces and wishes to marry before deployment. Bates said that since 17-year-olds can join the military, "there is no way our legislature is going to tell [them] they're old enough to risk their lives for our country but they're too young to get married."

It can be easy to think of child marriage as something that happens somewhere else—in war-torn countries, in nations notorious for the

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEAN LOPER

poor treatment of women. But in the U.S., nearly every state allows at least some people under age 18 to marry—and as the columnist Nicholas Kristof recently pointed out in the New York *Times*, the vast majority of those underage spouses are girls.

According to data compiled for the *Times* by a child-marriage-abolition group called Unchained At Last, more than 167,000 people under age 17 married in 38 states between 2000 and 2010. And according to data collected by the Tahirih Justice Center, a nonprofit advocacy group for women and girls fleeing violence, 27 states set no true minimum age for marriage, and nine states set age limits below 16.

Fraidy Reiss, executive director of Unchained At Last, notes that in many states, people under 18 cannot retain a lawyer—which means they can't file for divorce or fight for custody of their kids. "Legally," says Reiss, "a 17-year-old is the same as a 7-year-old."

A handful of lawmakers across the country are trying to raise the minimum marriage age in their states. A California bill that would prohibit minors from marrying at all was recently adjusted to allow underage marriage under increased judicial scrutiny, a concession to help it pass. The New Jersey legislature recently passed a bill prohibiting all marriage under age 18, but Republican Governor Chris Christie vetoed it in May. And in Connecticut, a bill that would prohibit marriage below age 16 recently passed the state house unanimously.

Historical precedent—as well as modern mores and legal strictures—make marriage laws surprisingly difficult to change. According to legal experts, most U.S. marriage laws have their roots in the 18th century, when it was marital status (not age or consent) that determined whether sexual activity was legal or illegal. And today, because of a constitutional—and cultural—deference to parental rights, there isn't much that can prevent parents from marrying off their 16-year-old daughters. "We still believe parents act in the best interest of their children," says Doug NeJaime, who teaches family law at Yale Law School. "Our legal system doesn't second-guess that."

Even where there is evidence of sex with a minor, prosecutors are often less likely to file statutory rape charges when the victim and perpetrator get married. "The problem is prosecutorial discretion," says Marci Hamilton, the founder of anti-sexual-abuse organization ChildUSA and a professor of law and religion at the University of Pennsylvania. "They have limited resources, and they might have another case that's easier to prosecute."

But these obstacles aren't dissuading Cassandra Levesque. "I'm going to introduce the bill again," she says. "And I'm going to keep fighting, no matter how long it takes." □

LANGUAGE

covfefe

(noun)

1. Meaning unknown

USAGE: Just after midnight E.T. on May 31, Donald Trump tweeted, "Despite the constant negative press covfefe." The tweet was deleted hours later after the mystery word went viral. Just after 6 a.m. E.T., Trump joined in on the fun by tweeting, "Who can figure out the true meaning of "covfefe"??? Enjoy!"

DIGITS

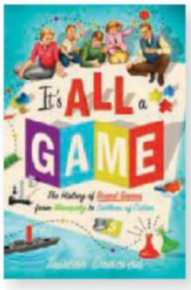
500,000

Approximate number of children under 5 who die of diarrhea each year worldwide, according to a new Global Burden of Disease study. The number of such deaths dropped by a third between 2005 and 2015

BOOK IN BRIEF

What's in a board game?

BOARD GAMES TEND TO FEEL timeless. But as Tristan Donovan argues in his new book, *It's All a Game*, the ways board games evolve reflect the values of the time. Consider the game of Life, which began in 1860 "as a thinly disguised Sunday school sermon," Donovan writes, with spaces on the board promoting virtues and punishing vices. A century later, as American industry boomed, it was remarketed with a capitalistic message. By the 1990s, the financial side still mattered, but the introduction of "Life Tiles" rewarded more intangible accomplishments. Games of the 1960s like Twister revealed changing sexual attitudes, while the German game Settlers of Catan (introduced six years after the fall of the Berlin Wall) valued open trade over command and control. "Wherever the future takes us," Donovan writes, "board games will be there, mirroring our choices and our attitudes on paper and cardboard."



—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

Thirst editions

JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

For more on these stories, visit **time.com/ideas**

BIG IDEA

Seoul's garden in the sky

South Korea's Seoullo 7017 Skygarden, which opened in late May, is exactly that: a garden in the sky. The over 3,000-ft.-long "plant village" is built on a former highway overpass that runs through the center of the capital, not unlike New York City's High Line. Dutch studio MVRDV won a government commission to build the park two years ago and designed its thoroughfare to hold 24,000 plants. The park is likely to eventually expand and may become an urban nursery that grows trees or shrubs that can be transplanted elsewhere in the city. —*Julia Zorthian*

GARDEN: OSSIP VAN DUIVENBODE; GINSBURG: GETTY IMAGES

HISTORY

How sharks became so scary

SUMMER HASN'T EVEN OFFICIALLY BEGUN and sightings of great white sharks in shallow waters have already forced beach closures on both U.S. coasts. In a post-*Jaws* world, it seems only natural that shark warnings should send swimmers running. But that hasn't always been the case. For most of history, in fact, sharks simply weren't on most people's radars as something to fear.

It's not all Hollywood's fault, either. Experts point to July 1916, when a series of shark attacks on the Jersey Shore killed four people and left one injured, as a turning point. People were so afraid of what became known as the "Jersey man-eater" that President Woodrow Wilson held a Cabinet meeting at which he advocated for killing all sharks on the East Coast.

The reason for the concentrated spate of shark attacks remains a mystery. Why they caused a national panic is easier to understand. The beach would have been particularly crowded due to a combination of unusual heat that month and a lack of air-conditioning, plus increased transportation options to the shore and the rise of middle-class leisure. The fact that it happened near New York City may have also helped the news get to the President.

While fears of unprovoked shark attacks are common, attacks themselves are not. According to George Burgess, director of the Florida Museum of Natural History's International Shark Attack File, there are only, on average, six shark-caused fatalities worldwide each year. —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

For more, visit **time.com/history**

LAW

SUPREME COURT 'MANTERRUPTION'

Northwestern law professor Tonja Jacobi and student Dylan Schweers used transcripts to analyze the Supreme Court's oral arguments from 2004 to 2015 and created a data set of all the interruptions by Justices or advocates. Here are some of their findings, as reported in the online journal Aeon:

24%
Average percentage of female Justices on the Court bench over the 12 years studied

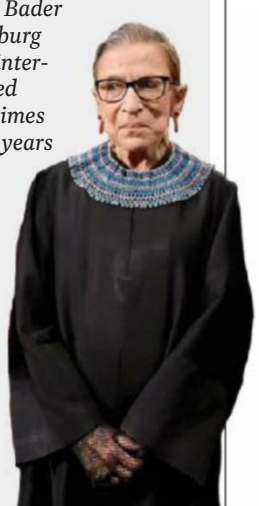
32%
Percentage of interruptions that happened to female Justices

4%
Percentage of interruptions made by female Justices

3x
Factor by which female Justices were more likely to be interrupted than male Justices from 2011 to 2015

—*J.Z.*

Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg was interrupted 109 times in 12 years



It's getting bot in the kitchen

By Lisa Eadicicco

ROBOTIC BUTLERS THAT CAN COOK DINNER FOR THE FAMILY WON'T EXIST ANYTIME SOON. BUT THAT doesn't mean technologists aren't aiming to help out in the kitchen. A swath of companies, from appliance giants to gadgets startups, are fielding devices that help prepare meals and shop for groceries so families can eat more healthily. Here's a look at some of the most promising devices so far:

Keep you stocked

1 A MAGIC BUTTON FOR REORDERING GROCERIES

Amazon wants to make replenishing staples as simple as pressing a button, preferably its Dash Button. You can reorder specific items that are available via the company's Prime service with one press. Amazon sells a variety of Buttons priced at $4.99 each for replenishing items like Goldfish crackers and Ziploc bags.

2 REFRIGERATORS THAT SHOP FOR YOU

Samsung and LG want the refrigerator to be more than just mere storage. Samsung's Family Hub ($3,499) and LG's Smart InstaView (price TBD) refrigerators aim to make it easier to order groceries and find recipes. Those using Family Hub can order from a grocery store through the Groceries by MasterCard app. LG, meanwhile, employs Amazon's Alexa virtual assistant to reorder items or search for recipes with your voice.

3 THE CAMERA THAT LETS YOU PEEK INSIDE

You don't need to buy an Internet-connected refrigerator to get some of the benefits of a smart appliance. The Smarter FridgeCam ($99.99) is a wireless camera that allows you to see the contents of your refrigerator and track expiration dates from an app. You can also receive recipe suggestions based on the ingredients you currently have.

Help you cook

4 AN OVEN THAT COOKS FOR YOU

If you're attempting to cook a rare steak for the first time, you may not know exactly how long to leave it in the oven or at which temperature to cook it. The June Intelligent Oven ($1,495) aims to help. Using a built-in camera, weight sensors, a thermometer and artificial intelligence, it can automatically identify certain foods and determine how they should be cooked. Just slide the cut into the oven and June will handle the rest, reminding you when to flip it. So far it can identify chicken, bacon, salmon, waffles and chocolate-chip cookies, among other foods.

5 THE (MUCH) SMARTER BAKING SCALE

Baking requires precision. Adding too much of any one ingredient will ruin a dish. Smart baking scales like the Perfect Bake ($72) and Drop ($79.95) aim to prevent culinary disasters. Both pair with an app that can tell you when you've poured enough flour or sugar. Perfect Bake's app can help you find recipes based on the foods and seasonings in your pantry, while Drop's can tell you how to substitute ingredients you don't have.

6 DIGITAL HELPERS THAT RECITE RECIPES

Reaching for your smartphone or tablet when your hands are covered in cookie dough is never ideal. Internet-connected speakers Amazon Echo ($179.99) and Google Home ($129) can read recipes aloud or set a timer. Both can pull recipes from sources such as Allrecipes and Food Network.

Keep you healthy

7 A FORK THAT HELPS SLOW YOU DOWN

The HAPIfork ($79) aims to help you lose weight by preventing you from eating too fast. The utensil will vibrate and light up to indicate when you're consuming food too quickly and can measure the total amount of time it took to eat your meal. But the benefits may be questionable: while there is some evidence suggesting that eating slowly helps to maximize fullness after meals, one study found that using a vibrating fork to eat slower didn't lead to feeling full or a significant reduction in the amount of food consumed.

8 THE PLATE THAT HELPS WITH PORTION SIZE

Counting calories and manually logging meals can be cumbersome, which is why the SmartPlate TopView ($79) attempts to take care of these steps for you. The plate works with a scale and an app, identifying food to help diners portion their meals and keep a well-balanced diet.

9 A CUP THAT KEEPS YOU HYDRATED

The Pryme Vessyl ($99) smart cup aims to prevent dehydration—which can lead to a range a detrimental health effects—by tracking daily water consumption. A meter on the cup lights up to indicate your hydration level, and its companion app makes it possible to monitor intake throughout the day. It also integrates with Apple's Health app for iPhone so that you can plug in data about your water consumption alongside other fitness metrics.

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The case for optimism in these strange times

By John Kerry

THIS IS NOT A NORMAL TIME.

It is not normal to see a President of the United States decrying "so-called judges." It is not normal for the leader of the country that invented what is our First Amendment to degrade and even threaten journalists. And it is not normal to see the head of the FBI fired summarily because he was investigating connections between Russia and the presidential campaign of the very man who fired him.

No, there is nothing normal about this moment, and there is nothing American about it, either.

But I'm old enough to have seen a movie like this, maybe a time or two. And that's why, about this part of the story at least, I'm actually an optimist.

I remember watching the Army-McCarthy hearings. I remember the hysteria. But eventually people in both parties, and people who couldn't care less about party labels, stood up and said, "Enough."

I also remember returning from war in 1970 to a country at war with itself, where people were attacked for speaking their minds, and years later watching Watergate on a little black-and-white television screen. But in 1974 a new wave of people were elected to Congress to clean up the corruption and put the country back on course.

So with respect to the short term and the things we're fighting over every day, count me as an optimist. Our institutions usually work best when we need them most. America's got a pretty good, almost 241-year record of figuring things out.

IT'S THE LONG-TERM CHALLENGES we aren't confronting where we need to shake the free world out of its slumber and wrestle with what's really coming at us.

Much of the world is witnessing a wave of technological transformation that is on the scale of the Industrial Revolution but happening at a digital pace. The only thing that isn't coming at us faster and faster is the ability to respond. Technology—not trade—is the principal reason the U.S. lost 85% of its 5.6 million manufacturing jobs in the first decade of this century.

It's bad enough that we haven't yet solved the jobs crisis in West Virginia and parts of Ohio. But if our institutions can't build consensus and respond to the demand of Americans for jobs today, how will we ever do it in a time when artificial intelligence and robotics kick in and exponentially more jobs disappear—twice as fast?

Our gridlock and willful denial are even more dangerous and economically costly in the fight to correct the perilous course our planet has been on for far too long. Make no mistake: if the United States retreats from our commitments in the Paris Agreement, it will have enormous negative reverberations around the equator and from pole to pole. But even here I believe that if we make the right choices, we don't have to be pessimistic. The question, right now, isn't whether we will get to the global, low-carbon economy that we need. We will. The question is whether we're going to do it fast enough to prevent the worst of what the changing climate could inflict on every corner of the world.

Recent news also reinforced the need for yet another, better focus of our energies. The attack in Manchester, England, angers all people of conscience.

But we've spent more time debating what to call extremism than we have discussing a long-term strategy for defeating it. If we don't wrestle with the long term, every four years a different President and a different Foreign Minister will face a different terrorist group with a different acronym.

So how are we going to do all this?

'It's the long-term challenges we aren't confronting where we need to shake the free world out of its slumber and wrestle with what's really coming at us.'

WE NEED A NEW PLAN for investing in the 21st century—one that starts by recognizing the reality that no one government in the world has the ability to move fast enough. America can't opt out of a networked world. To succeed, all of us have to opt in.

Somewhere around $13 trillion now sits in net negative-interest status around the world. Working with governments, investment funds, international financial institutions and philanthropies, we could leverage this money to build a partnership between developed and near-developed countries that will facilitate investments in education, health care, clean energy, connectivity and infrastructure of all kinds.

Americans and people around the world can and should embrace such a strategy for prosperity. But we can't solve the long term if we aren't talking about the long term—with truth.

Kerry, a former U.S. Secretary of State, is the global affairs distinguished fellow at Yale University and a visiting statesman at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

MARC PIASECKI—GC IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES

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Nation

Family first

Jared Kushner, son-in-law and senior adviser to Donald Trump, in the Oval Office as the President spoke with the King of Saudi Arabia by phone on Jan. 29

PHOTOGRAPH BY AL DRAGO

Now front and center in the Russia probe, Jared Kushner is bound to Trump by more than marriage

BY KARL VICK

If one thing emerged crystal clear from the muddy first months of his father-in-law's presidency, it's that Jared Kushner prefers the background.

That's where the camera found him in pretty much every official setting—among the flags and the rhododendron, stock still and strangely unchanged from one photo to another: spread collar, thin tie and dimpled, inscrutable smile. The senior adviser to the President was also the cipher of the White House—never heard in public, a blank page on which an anxious public could write its hopes. To moderates, he was the son of a prominent Democratic family, relied upon to be, with his wife Ivanka Trump, a calming voice of reason in the ear of a churlish, impetuous President. Donald Trump loyalists understood him as the most loyal of all, guided by the two words that both men repeat: "Family first."

It's a situation that might have survived had Kushner remained in the dog-eat-dog world of Manhattan real estate, where behind every empire builder with his name on a building lurks a discreet dealmaker and consigliere, scouring fine print, quietly finding opportunity and making problems disappear. But Washington is a town of rank and title, where secrets are hard to keep, official roles matter and the higher power of the Constitution looms. The quiet man is now conspicuous, having been slurped into the spotlight by the tentacles of a Russia investigation that produces headlines like Ford punches out trucks.

Just before Memorial Day weekend, news broke that Russia's ambassador to the U.S., Sergey Kislyak, told the Kremlin last December that Kushner wanted to open a private

Since his inauguration, Trump has included Kushner and Ivanka Trump in meetings with the Pope, heads of state and business leaders, among others. Kushner even traveled to Iraq in April (bottom, far right), *where he met with service members*

communications channel with Moscow, perhaps even using Russia's secret communications equipment to do it. The notion reportedly startled even Kislyak and bewildered the U.S. intelligence services that had intercepted his message. Kushner's defenders acknowledged that the meeting took place but suggested that talk of a secret channel might be Russian disinformation. But once the story broke that investigators were actively looking into Kushner's undisclosed contacts with Russians, the shadow of the FBI probe spread to the White House itself for the first time.

Just as concerning for investigators was Kushner's meeting with Sergey Gorkov, the head of Russia's Vnesheconombank, later in the same month at the request of Kislyak. The bank is closely tied to the leadership of the Russian government and has been enmeshed in the activities of its intelligence services. One employee in its New York office, Evgeny Buryakov, was arrested in 2015 for espionage after he was caught collecting intelligence on Wall Street's high-tech financial systems. One of Buryakov's handlers had tried to recruit Carter Page, who was a foreign policy adviser to the Trump campaign. Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison in 2016 and deported earlier this year.

There is no indication that Kushner is a target of the Russia probe, officials say, and he has not publicly commented on either meeting, though his attorneys say he is happy to speak with investigators at an appropriate time. The bar to prove that someone improperly colluded with a foreign power is very high, and even the most aggressive investigators use a note of caution when speaking of Kushner's role in the probe. "He's an ends-justifies-the-means guy," says one U.S. official familiar with the investigation. "It could be naiveté, but the investigation is about finding that out."

Naiveté is no crime, but Washington's punishment of perceived incompetence can be swift and brutal. The political frenzy around the back-channel meeting—with some Democrats calling for the suspension of Kushner's security clearance—has left no visible dent in Kushner's supreme self-confidence. That has created its own problems. Alone among Trump's senior advisers, Kushner, 36, urged the firing of FBI Director James Comey, the official in charge of the Russia probe.

The ensuing, entirely predictable uproar resulted in the appointment of a special counsel, who will keep the probe

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alive for months. It also alienated the FBI rank and file. "[Trump] pissed off the building," says a former U.S. official familiar with the investigation. "Now they're doubling down twice as hard" on the probe.

The immediate political consequence is uncomfortable; it brings the investigation as close to the President as Kushner, which is as close as things get in the White House. In the Venn diagram that describes operations in the West Wing, only Jared and Ivanka, who has an office upstairs, occupy the overlapping zone of government servant and family. And even in that exclusive subset, Kushner occupies a place all his own, having already performed service as discreet agent and protector during the presidential campaign, and before.

The setting is new, but Kushner has been tested by public scandal before, by intense prosecutorial heat and by the fraught blending of family business and politics that now defines the Trump brand. He became an adult as a defender of his family name after his father was convicted and sent to prison after attempting to smear the reputation of his own brother-in-law. In that drama, too, the younger Kushner saw himself as calm and quick-thinking, able to mostly separate his talents for problem solving from the limits of what he did not yet know. It's the role he played in his business success and even in the Trump presidential campaign, which supporters described as a "movement" but Kushner understood as both an extraordinary opportunity and as a problem to solve.

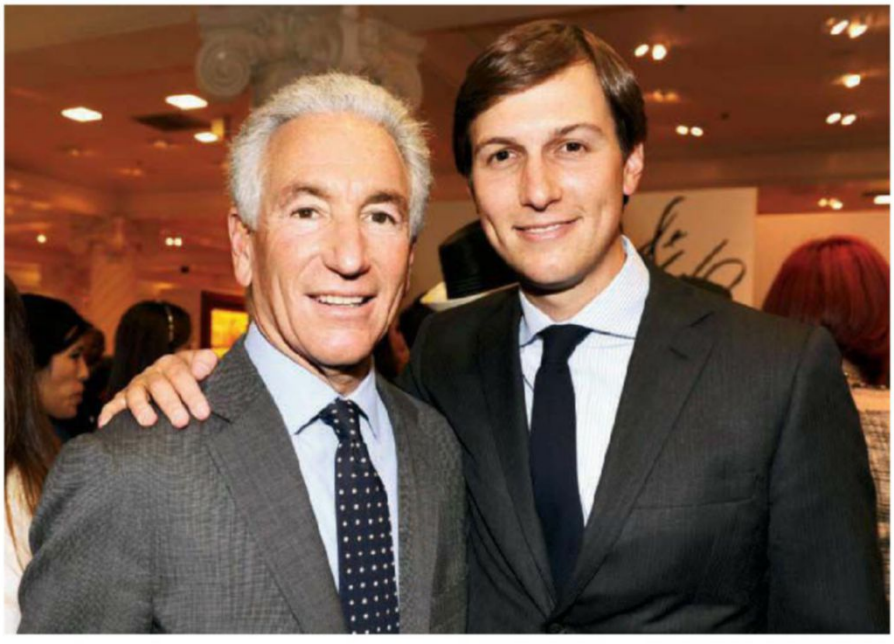
"Knowing him, I don't even think he could consider the politics of it, party-wise," explains Asher Abehsera, Kushner's partner in several real estate projects. "I think he's like, 'Here I am, he's my father-in-law, and I could do this and this and this and it could help him.' And he did this and this and this, and it helped him. And that mushroomed into today."

IT WAS LOST ON NO ONE in Washington that Kushner landed perhaps the best office in the West Wing, a space that abuts the President's private dining room, just steps from the Oval Office. The room was previously used by President Obama's top strategists, first David Axelrod and then David Plouffe, who filled it with political memorabilia, maps, bookcases, sometimes photos of themselves at key moments in life. Kushner has so far treated the space as a waiting room, with bare white walls, save a television, a whiteboard and a gold-rimmed mirror.

Instead of placing comfortable chairs for visitors before his desk, he has stuck his workspace against a wall. That has made way for a conference table for regular meetings with the growing team of aides who report to him. His brief is both enormous and selective, allowing him to leave on family vacations in the first months in office with minimal disruption. Among the projects he has had a hand in are a host of foreign deals, including a recent $110 billion weapons sale to Saudi Arabia; diplomatic outreach to Mexico, Canada, China and Israel; and government reinvention efforts focused on Veterans Affairs, information-technology contracting and the opioid crisis. People who report to him like to joke that they travel below the waves, away from the daily outrages that now consume the news cycle, trying to keep on task, find the next deal. Kushner will also occasionally meet here with journalists, though he stays in the deep, not speaking for the record. He declined to comment for this story.

> **'It could be naiveté, but the investigation is about finding that out.'**
>
> —U.S. official familiar with the Russia probes

Even before he found himself, at age 36, as a senior counselor to the President, Jared Kushner's life had the epic sweep and the dramatic reversals of a 19th century novel. There was a childhood in sub-



Left: Kushner handed out free copies of the New York Observer *in 2007, after taking it over. Above: With his father Charles Kushner in 2012*

urban Livingston, N.J., an Orthodox Jewish upbringing in a home that suggested little of the family's wealth, four years at Harvard, then studies in law and business. But the story really began the summer day in 2004 that the protagonist, at 23, learned his father had been arrested after trying to bring down his own family.

His father Charles Kushner was the son of Holocaust survivors, who arrived in America after World War II. The grandfather worked as a carpenter, then began building houses in New Jersey. When Charles took over the business, he carried the second-generation immigrant story into rarified territory. His firstborn son spent his formative years watching his friends go off to summer camps or football games while he tagged along with his father to construction sites or to see new prospective properties on Sundays.

Before long, Kushner Companies owned 20,000 homes, generating wealth that Charles made a point of spreading around. "It got to be embarrassing to call him," says Arthur Mirante II, a business associate and friend whom Kushner tapped for a contribution to the yeshiva he started to honor his father. After they became friends, he would brace himself when he called for a cause of his own: "I'd ask for $10,000, he'd give $300,000."

Charles Kushner also contributed to politicians. It's what real estate developers do, but Kushner's amounts demonstrated an appetite for more than approval of building projects or favorite causes like Israel. (Benjamin Netanyahu once spent the night at the Livingston home.) Kushner made himself a major player in New Jersey Democratic politics. He was the primary backer of a governor, Jim McGreevey, who nominated him for chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey in 2003, just as Kushner's world began to unravel.

Federal law limits how much an individual can contribute to a candidate, but like many big givers, Kushner skirted the letter of the law by sending money in the name of assorted family members. The problem was an ugly rift in the extended Kushner clan. Those arrayed against Charles lined up with investigators. Charles responded by arranging for his brother-in-law to be videotaped with a prostitute, then mailed the tape to the man's wife—which is to say, his own sister.

The plan backfired. Charles' sister took the tape to the feds, and Charles was convicted of 18 felony counts, including witness tampering. The prosecution of the prominent Democrat was led by the U.S. attorney for New Jersey at the time, Chris Christie, who at sentencing called him "downright evil." Christie went on to become the governor of New Jersey. Charles went on to serve about half of a two-year sentence, in Montgomery, Ala. Jared flew down to visit him nearly every weekend.

Investigators in the Russia probe may well consider how the searing experience with the U.S. attorney's office may have colored Jared's attitude toward the law. At the time of his father's arrest, he was interning at the office of the New York prosecutor Robert Morgenthau. He set aside any thoughts of a career in law and, when asked years later about his father's transgression, argued that he was more sinned against than a sinner. And that the greatest sin was going against family.

"His siblings stole every piece of paper from his office, and they took it to the government," Jared told *New York* magazine in 2009. "He gave them interests in the business for nothing. All he did was put the tape together and send it. Was it the right thing to do? At the end of the day, it was a function of saying, 'You're trying to make my life miserable? Well, I'm doing the same.'"

What followed was a loyal son's methodical, strikingly successful campaign of restoration and self-creation, one that happened to track the success story of his future father-in-law, moving to New York to make it big in real estate. The quest began with a purchase that had everything

NEWSPAPERS: JOE FORNABAIO; CHARLES AND JARED: PATRICK MCMULLAN—PATRICK MCMULLAN/GETTY IMAGES

Kushner and his wife Ivanka outside the West Wing, where both have offices, on April 5

JABIN BOTSFORD—THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES

to do with social status. The New York *Observer* was a weekly newspaper on salmon newsprint with a tiny circulation. But it was read by a Manhattan elite that liked its blend of gossip and intrigue. Kushner bought it for $10 million in cash, stepping in front of a bid that included Robert De Niro's Tribeca Enterprises, to announce his arrival in Manhattan, at age 25.

"His graduation present was the *Observer*," says Mirante. It was not Charles Kushner's first conspicuous investment in his eldest son. In 1998, the father pledged $2.5 million to Harvard, a contribution featured in Daniel Golden's *The Price of Admission,* which quoted a counselor at Jared's prep school as saying his grades and test scores would not themselves justify admission to Harvard, where he was nonetheless admitted.

Family first: Jared assumed leadership of Kushner Companies, since establishment banks would not lend to a convicted felon. But Charles, after his 2006 release, worked down the hall and was both a participant and a beneficiary of the course the company now set: unloading its New Jersey holdings and crossing the Hudson to make its mark in New York City.

The family planted its flag at 666 Fifth Avenue, paying $1.8 billion for a 41-story aluminum-clad tower, a record amount for an office building at the time—which unfortunately was 2007, the peak of the real estate bubble. The company only just navigated the downturn, selling a 49% share, but then, undaunted, looked around for more: its trophies include the Puck Building, where Jared and Ivanka own, and a swath of Brooklyn Heights previously held by the Jehovah's Witnesses' world headquarters. As Kushner Companies grew from 70 employees to 700, the prominence of Charles' conviction shrank. Friends say that was the idea.

"I think that Jared got into the real estate business and pursued some very marquee transactions as a way to redeem the family's name," says Sandeep Mathrani, a prominent developer who advised Jared when "his father was not in a good place."

Along the way, the Kushners became certified New Yorkers. His parents moved to the Upper East Side. Jared made himself at home in establishment circles like the Partnership for New York City, started a real estate version of the *Observer* with its own Power 100 awards dinner and, at a business lunch in 2007, met Ivanka.

From a distance, their union could be mistaken for a political marriage—a merger of two family empires. But it was not universally desired. There were breakups. Kushner's parents wanted their son to marry within the faith. Privately, friends also mention eye-rolling at the prospect of being related to Donald Trump, whose preoccupation was not with the New York *Observer* but the tabloids (which dubbed the pair J-Vanka). But the young couple persisted.

Their reunion was arranged on a yacht of Wendi Deng's, then wife of Rupert Murdoch. After Ivanka removed the Kushners' only stated objection by converting to Judaism—studying at the Upper East Side synagogue Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun—the wedding was held in Bedminster, N.J., at the Trump National Golf Club.

UNTIL HE RAN FOR PRESIDENT, Trump was not someone who depended on his son-in-law. Ivanka, Jared and the kids—

now ages 5, 3 and 1—would travel to Mar-a-Lago for Thanksgiving, and the young family had a summer house next to Trump's in Bedminster. But Kushner was immersed in business, including the real estate investing platform Cadre, with billionaire Peter Thiel and others, including his brother Josh, who was better known for his role in Oscar, a health-insurance company tailored to Obamacare, and for his relationship with supermodel Karlie Kloss. Almost everyone in the family was a Democrat.

But when Trump announced his candidacy for President in June 2015, Jared made himself available, at first out of familial duty. That changed on Nov. 9, 2015, in Springfield, Ill., at a Trump rally, Kushner's first. The candidate entered to the music of Twisted Sister: "We're not going to take it." The crowd of 10,200 was the largest ever gathered in the convention center and went wild for the candidate whom the political establishment regarded as a joke. Kushner had grown up bantering about politics; he'd bought a website devoted to the minutia of Jersey politics. But this was something else. This was primal.

As Kushner has told it, the young scion glimpsed a world outside his own Upper East Side bubble, a country roiled by grievance and frustration, looking for the champion Trump was eager to become. The data-focused real estate magnate returned to New York convinced that his father-in law would be the Republican nominee. In the months that followed, he steadily took on more tasks in the campaign. He found policy advisers who could write issue white papers—at least once anonymously, given the notoriety of the candidate, and for twice the regular fee. He scrambled to write speeches on topics wholly new to him, leaned heavily on senior aide Stephen Miller and—a point of particular pride—reinvented Trump's threadbare online advertising and fundraising operation. Using Facebook as his data bank, he helped turn the MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN hat from a curiosity into a fashion trend, direct targeting ads online that brought in as much as $80,000 a day. "Jared Kushner's a rock star," Brad Parscale, who ran Trump's digital operation, told TIME last year. "He's a mad scientist."

In time, it would became apparent that the campaign was not the only operation microtargeting Trump supporters through Facebook. Federal investigators later learned that Russian operatives were doing the same thing and are looking at whether the two camps cooperated with each other. Investigators are not certain of what to make of Kushner's contacts with the Russians; he didn't disclose them or any other foreign contacts when he initially applied for top-secret security clearance. Over the course of the campaign, Reuters reported, Kushner had two undisclosed phone conversations with Russian ambassador Kislyak and one other contact. (Kushner's lawyers say he participated in "thousands of calls" and corrected his security-clearance application on his own initiative.)

There have been other headaches. Jared's responsibilities include policy toward China, which first proved awkward when Kushner Companies courted the Anbang Insurance Group, a Chinese company linked to the Beijing leadership, as an investor at 666 Fifth Avenue. The company has since backed away, but in May one of Kushner's sisters went to China in search of investors for another project, in Jersey City, trading on the family name in road-show presentations and dangling U.S. visas. The company apologized, and Kushner argues that everyone is adjusting to life as public servants: neither he nor Ivanka (who has had her own embarrassing business conflicts) structured their lives, or their complex finances, with a political career in mind.

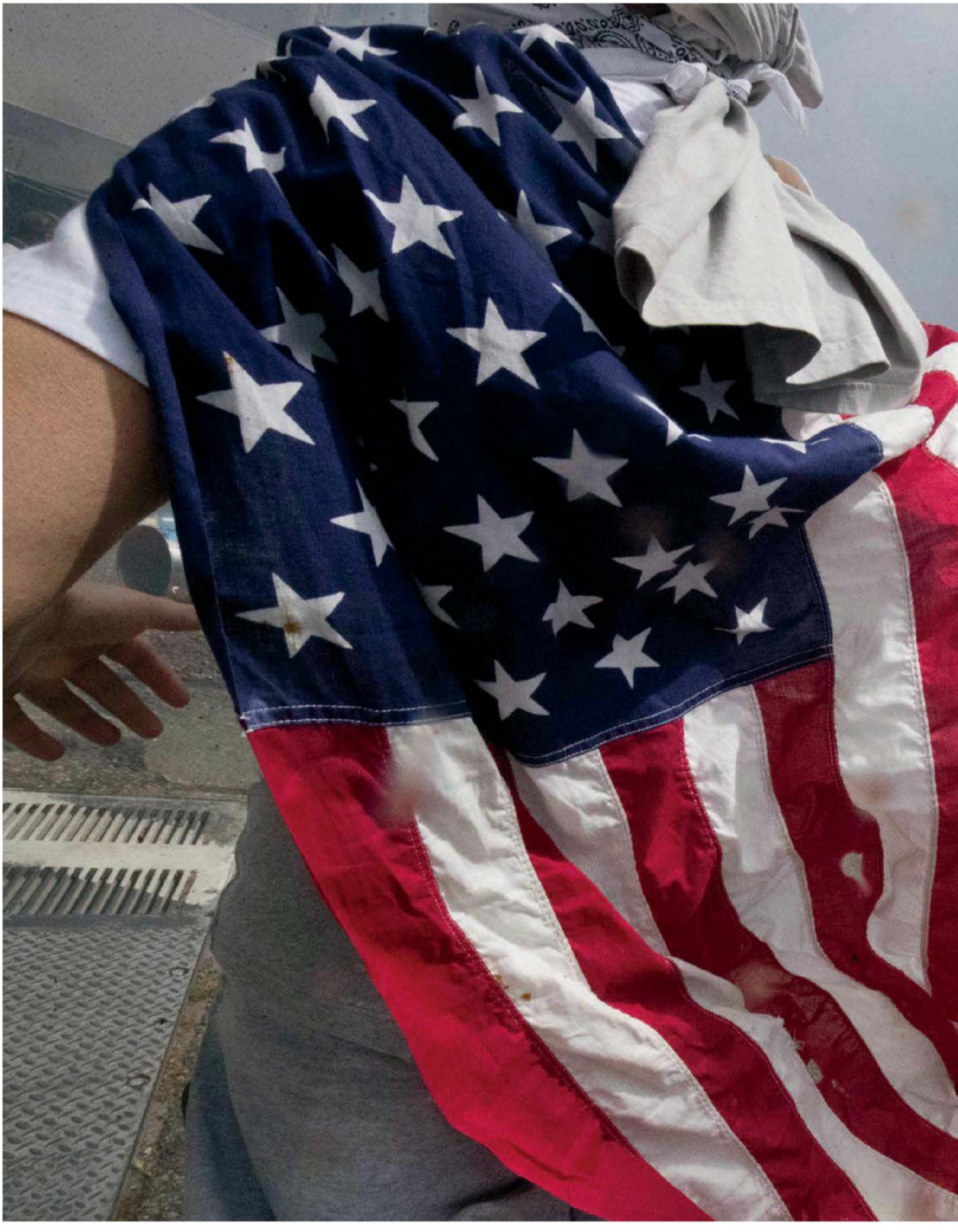
Inside the White House, the promise of Kushner and his wife playing a moderating force may be overblown. They are more politically liberal than most but view themselves primarily as Trump's protectors, even though their counsel can fall out of favor with the President at times. It's with that last goal in mind that they have pushed Trump to temper his rhetoric on NATO and the Muslim world, and argued that he should remain in the Paris climate accords. In the White House, Kushner's ability to skirt the system has made him popular among the town's diplomatic corps but has led to strains inside the building, which has yet to find a coherent organization. Whether it was wise to entrust such a vast and complicated portfolio to a policy novice is one of the questions that will define Trump's first term.

Like the older man he protects and serves, Kushner is more comfortable operating on instinct than ideology

As with everyone else in the West Wing, the relationship that matters most is with the boss. They both earned their stripes the same way, in Manhattan media and real estate. They both see the world through the lens of deals, surmising their own best talent as being able to come out of any new situation a winner. Their best stories tend to carry the same moral: that they outsmarted, outhustled or outperformed everyone else around.

As a result, Kushner has the liberty to work on long-term projects because, unlike those around him, he does not have to worry about his job. His bond with the President, like that of his wife, is more elemental, even if they find themselves in occasional disagreement. For this reason, despite the swirl around him, Kushner has been projecting a level of calm. There have been crises before, even prosecutors. He likes to believe that he knows how to distinguish the real threats from the bogus ones, the dangers from the risks worth taking.

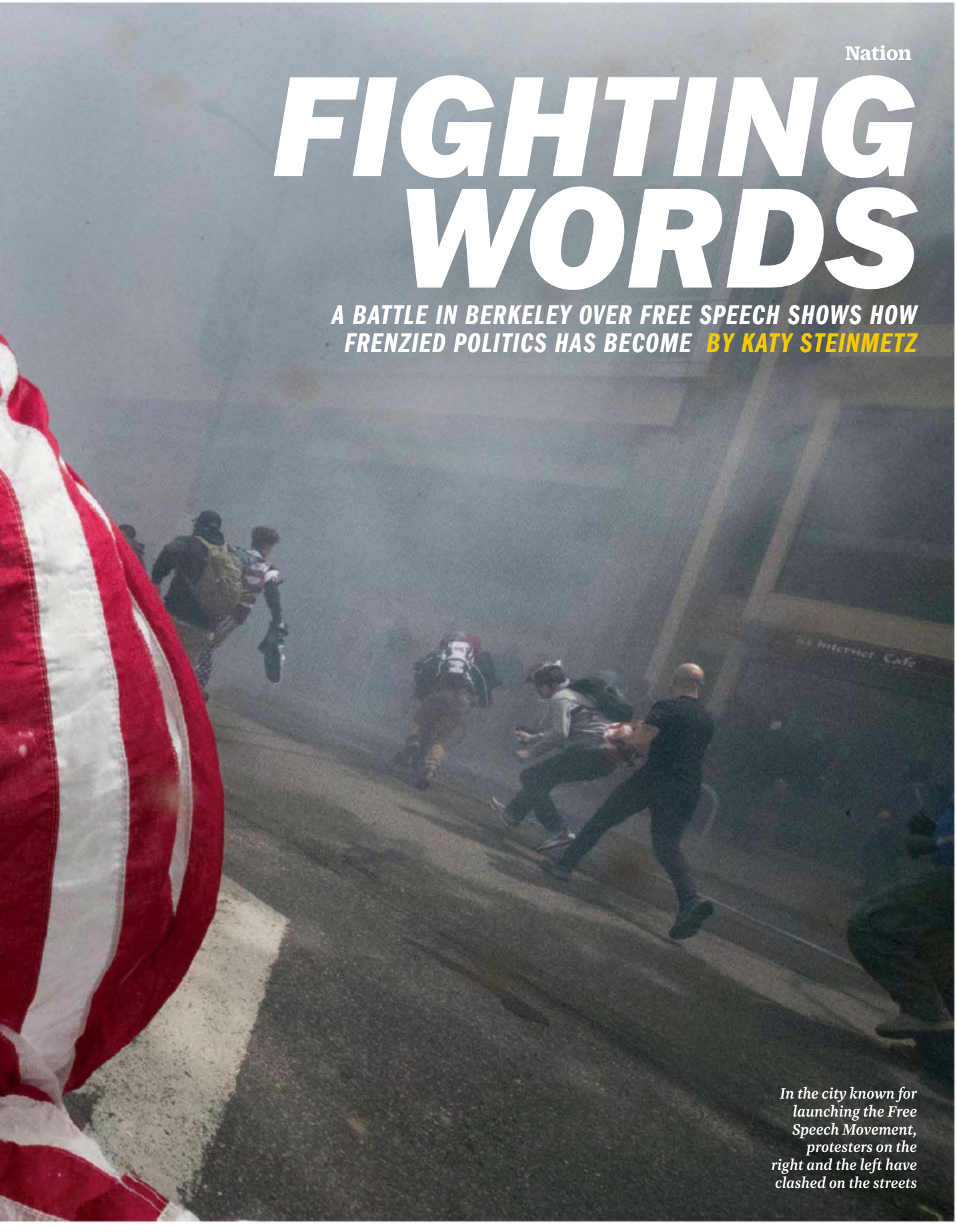
What neither man knows is whether the lessons of New York blood sport can be translated to Washington. For both men, the challenge of running a nation and steering the world is entirely new. They share the same wager that relationships and instinct can substitute for experience. And despite the wealth and validation that they've accumulated, both have identified as outsiders. Now, with adjacent windows overlooking the White House lawn, they are bound to rise or fall together. —*With reporting by* PHILIP ELLIOTT, MASSIMO CALABRESI, ZEKE J. MILLER *and* MICHAEL SCHERER/WASHINGTON



FIGHTING WORDS

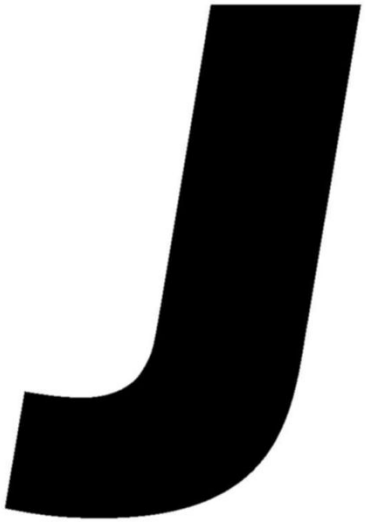
A BATTLE IN BERKELEY OVER FREE SPEECH SHOWS HOW FRENZIED POLITICS HAS BECOME

BY KATY STEINMETZ



In the city known for launching the Free Speech Movement, protesters on the right and the left have clashed on the streets

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL KURODA



JULIA, A WRITER WHO LIVES IN THE San Francisco Bay Area, talks about the street-protest scene in Berkeley, Calif., this spring as if she had entered a war zone. "There are explosions happening everywhere. People are fighting. You're not entirely sure who is an ally, who isn't," she says.

That's part of the reason she won't give her last name, since she fears that she will be targeted, harassed or doxxed like so many others who have had their identities attached to the blowups here. For a few days, the city's mayor, Jesse Arreguin, even had to get himself security because of the threats he was receiving. "Our city is not going to be turned into a fight club," he says defiantly, though no one is quite sure in this city of 121,000 long known as a test bed for the First Amendment.

As the far right and far left have clashed here over what kind of speech is permissible, Julia has tried to stake out new space created by the recurring violence. She helped found a group called Pastel Bloc, whose members wear disarming pinks in the streets as they provide water and support to other "antifascist" activists who might be engaged in more disruptive actions. Think of it as sort of a medic crew with fairy-dust slogans like RESISTANCE IS MAGIC. Anything to fight the growing sense of dread. "It's getting scarier to protest," she says.

The mosh pit started months ago at the city's famous university campus, where militant left-wing activists "shut down" conservative provocateur Milo Yiannopoulos in February, setting fires, breaking windows, causing a campus-wide "shelter in place" order. Invited to speak by the Berkeley College Republicans—who have since filed a lawsuit against the school—the professional troll and self-described "dangerous faggot" never made it onto the stage. And as the story became national news, Berkeley again became a theater where a bigger battle over the rights and limits on free speech, dissent and respect all played out.

At their worst, the scrums have been belittling and violent, as grown men and women shout, punch and taunt one another or destroy property. But the questions many are fighting over cut to the core of the American democratic system. In a time when politics have turned toxic, are there ideas so repugnant and dangerous that they shouldn't be allowed to be uttered in public? Do certain words amount to attacks and therefore justify violence in return? Or must all communities endure the speech they hate most, even when the point of the speech is to make others angry?

These are centuries-old debates, and freethinking Berkeley has seen countless protests over the decades. Yet city and university officials also say there is something unprecedented happening now. While some locals have shown up with the standard placards and megaphones, others have traveled from afar, bringing smoke bombs and sticks, seemingly spoiling for a fight. In three big clashes this spring, dozens have been arrested and others have been sent to the hospital. "This level of political violence is something we have not seen before," says Arreguin. "This is a new situation."

'THAT FORM OF PROTEST IS ... MEANT TO ... SHUT DOWN THINGS THAT NEED TO BE SHUT DOWN.'

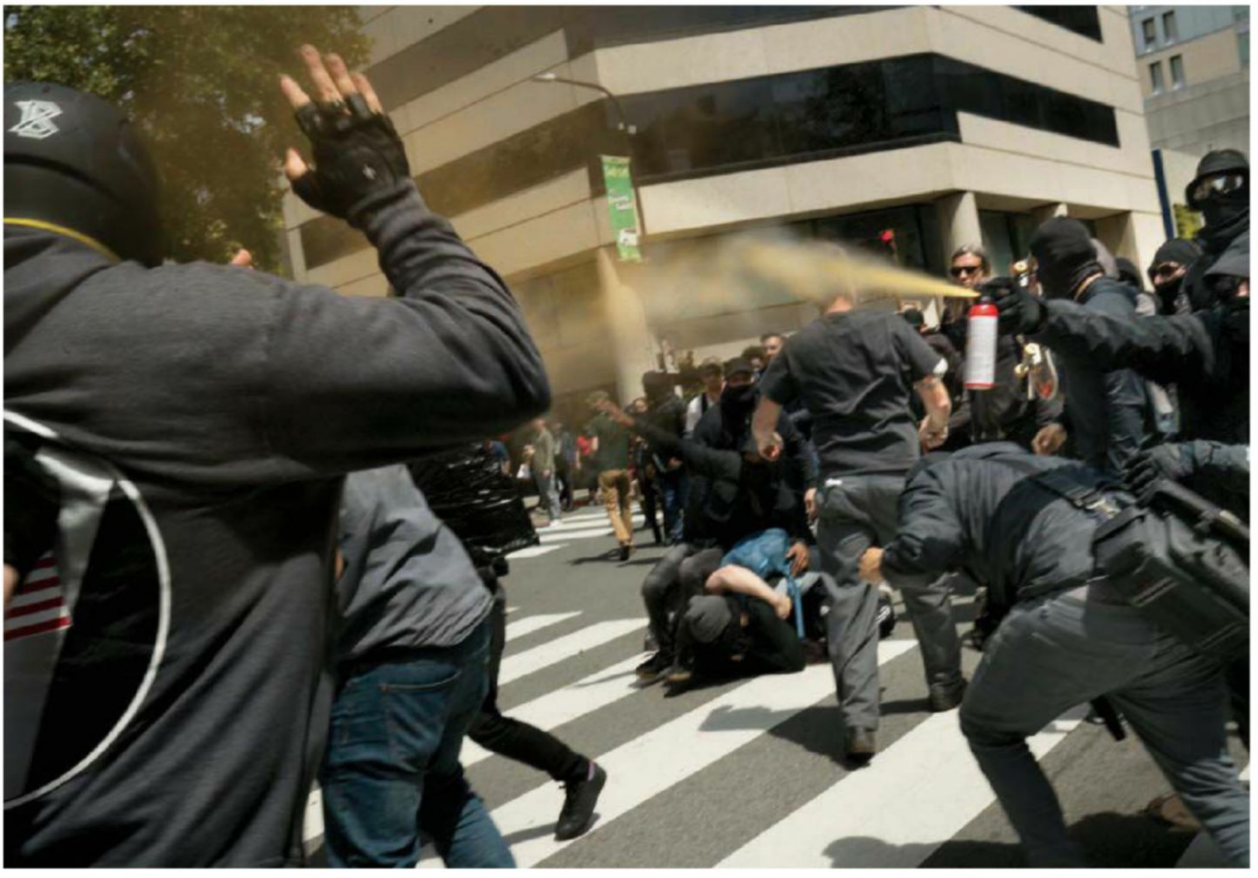
—LOUISE ROSEALMA, ANTIFASCIST ACTIVIST

And there are signs of it elsewhere. On May 29, the mayor of Portland, Ore., asked federal authorities to halt upcoming "alt-right demonstrations" after two men were stabbed and killed while trying to protect young women from a man yelling anti-Muslim slurs on a commuter train. The suspect in the stabbings entered the courtroom for his arraignment on May 30, casting himself as a champion of the Constitution. "Get out if you don't like free speech," he declared. The mayor had another message. "There is never a place for bigotry or hatred in our community," said Ted Wheeler, "and especially not now."

Many on the left say the words *free speech* are now being used as a cover for spreading hate in America. Many on the right say the left has been reacting violently to mere words. And in an era when Americans feel tense and divided, some groups have zeroed in on Berkeley as "a stage for open melee," as one conservative organizer put it, treating the town like a shrine to be captured or defended in a religious war.

Yiannopoulos, for his part, has promised to return to Berkeley for a "huge multiday" event later this year. "Free speech belongs to everyone, not just the spoilt brats of the academy," he wrote on Facebook, promising to dedicate each day of the event to a different "enemy of free speech, including feminism, Black Lives Matter and Islam."

THERE WAS A TIME when it appeared the spring confrontation could be avoided. Weeks before Yiannopoulos' planned appearance, scores of professors begged the university to cancel it, saying in a letter that he espouses views they find deplorable—"white supremacy, transphobia and misogyny"—and that he crosses a line by "actively inciting" his audience to harass people. At a previous stop on his campus tour, in Wisconsin, Yiannopoulos mocked a transgender woman who had once attended the school, while projecting her photo as she sat in the audience. And there were swirling fears that he would publicly target undocumented students at Berkeley, having promised to use the event to launch a campaign against "sanctuary campuses." (Yiannopoulos, who has said he'll "never stop making jokes about taboo subjects," says he was never going to single out students



At rallies this spring, some protesters have come to Berkeley as if spoiling for a fight

and describes the characterizations in the letter as "lies.") University officials criticized his "odious behavior" but said none of the concerns justified denying his right to speak.

Others in the community, however, disagreed. As dusk fell on Feb. 1, hundreds of protesters gathered peacefully on Sproul Plaza, where students launched a movement for free speech in 1964. Then things got hostile. "All of that changed, radically, when into the middle of the crowd marched—and I mean literally marched—100 to 150 individuals dressed in black from head to toe," says UC Berkeley spokesman Dan Mogulof, who was in the crowd.

It's not clear how many of them might have actually been students, but some marchers did identify as "antifa"—short for antifascist—activists known to use "black bloc" techniques to hide their identities as they protest en masse. With bandannas wrapped around their faces, the group tore down barricades, shot projectiles at police and lit a light stand on fire, causing more than $100,000 worth of damage. After the decision was made to cancel Yiannopoulos' event for safety reasons, some protesters spilled into nearby streets, crushing the front windows of bank chains, while other protesters cleaned up after them. Mogulof describes the black blockers as "highly disciplined," and says the display is "something we had simply never seen here."

Antifascist protesters have been showing up elsewhere. A woman allegedly shot one in Seattle while he was protesting another Yiannopoulos speech, and others hammered out limousine windows in Washington, D.C., on Donald Trump's Inauguration Day. While voices from all over the spectrum criticize the destructive methods that some of them use, antifascist groups also say that they've seen upticks in interest since the alt right has gained momentum, and people feel that "you have to take a side," says Shanta Driver, the national chair of the antifascist organization By Any Means Necessary.

Some antifascists who have been protesting in Berkeley—including many who embrace anarchist ideals of fighting government, capitalism and any form of hierarchy—say they have been unfairly labeled as agitators by the media. Many also defend methods like property damage as a lesser evil, justifiable in the face of "dehumanizing" speech. They contend that the "real violence" is spreading hateful ideologies and that shattered glass is "visual" protest. "That form of protest is not meant to look good. It's not meant to be diplomatic," says Louise Rosealma, an antifascist and anarchist who got clocked by a white nationalist protester, an incident that was recorded in a video that went viral. "It is meant to physically disrupt and shut down things that need to be shut down immediately."

Even for those who believe that broken windows or censorship can

PREVIOUS PAGES: ZUMA PRESS; THESE PAGES: PAUL KURODA—ZUMA PRESS

be justified, it's hard to decide which expressions can be reasonably called attacks and who deserves to be silenced. Some draw the line at advocating genocide or ethnic cleansing. Some draw the line at burning a cross on a front lawn. Some draw it at telling college students how to report their undocumented peers. Some simply say, "Free speech does not mean hate speech."

Others believe that the line drawing has gotten out of control, especially when people are demanding that a public university censor some speakers but not others. Naweed Tahmas, a Berkeley College Republican, says one of his liberal peers told him that the phrase *build a wall* is offensive hate speech. Another told him that hate speech should be banned from Berkeley. "Of course there's some courtesy you should take in speaking, but what they're trying to say is the government should restrict certain types of speech," Tahmas says, "and that's a slippery slope."

WHILE MANY PROTESTERS on the left saw forcing Yiannopoulos from campus as a success, many on the right saw it as a call to action. Among them was Rich Black, a libertarian grant writer from the Los Angeles area who decided to organize a "comeback" in Berkeley, an event where right-wingers could "come and speak, from start to finish, without being physically shut down. That was the whole goal," he says. Then, at least in some ways, things spun out of his control.

Black helped organize rallies in Berkeley's city center to defend free speech in March and April. And the optics of the setting—a deep blue town where the city council has, for example, called for Trump's impeachment and decided to boycott any companies that help build his proposed border wall—proved to be catnip. Groups spread the news on 4chan, Reddit and alt-right forums. While some conservatives came just to show support for Trump or to hear speeches, Black says, others showed up to provoke the left in real life.

"That's what's sad about these events. They really attract the worst of the worst," Black says. "There is a huge faction of the right that is just like the left. They deal in absolutes. They're outrageously angry. They need an excuse to relieve a lot of that pent up aggression."

At one rally in April, an anonymous donor paid to fly a sign behind a plane in the sky: DON'T TAKE THE BAIT! RISE ABOVE THE HATE! And at least one assembly this spring ended with no one hurt. But multiple meet-ups turned ugly. Police confiscated knives and bats and pipes. Some were bloodied, some were trampled.

Mayor Arreguin insists that any people who came to fight were not from his town and feels the city has been unfairly tarred as a place where people can speak their minds only if they're liberal. He doesn't have kind words for the "extreme" groups on either side. "Words are different from fists and bats and large wooden sticks that are bloodying people," he says, "and I certainly understand that people think certain words are objectionable and abhorrent and should not be tolerated, but we live in a free society."

Such principles are often cast aside online, where disagreeable ideas are routinely met with anonymous blowback. Mayor Arreguin had to take on the security detail after he criticized Yiannopoulos on Twitter and received violent threats via social media, email and phone. Black, the right-wing organizer, says he's gotten so many promises of physical harm from the people at either end of the spectrum that his new advocacy group, Liberty Revival Alliance, has considered hosting events "against the alt right." After the video of her being punched went viral, Rosealma says not only her address but also the addresses of her parents have been spread on the web, along with pictures of her as a child. Threats of rape have poured in.

'THERE IS A HUGE FACTION OF THE RIGHT THAT IS JUST LIKE THE LEFT. THEY DEAL IN ABSOLUTES.'

—RICH BLACK, LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZER

BACK ON CAMPUS, the Berkeley College Republicans tried to host other conservatives this spring—David Horowitz and Ann Coulter—but both events were canceled.

The club says there were too many administrative roadblocks and filed a lawsuit alleging that the university effectively acted "to restrict and stifle the speech of conservative students whose voices fall beyond the campus political orthodoxy." The university has responded that cancellations have been related not to political views but to safety concerns that arose in the wake of the Yiannopoulos event—leading to more complicated logistics. A spokesperson says the school will keep pursuing the "delicate balance" between keeping people safe and upholding the First Amendment. The suit remains ongoing.

The university does not deny that the College Republicans have been having a hard time on campus. Tahmas, a 20-year-old rising senior studying political science and a member of the club, says when he and other members have set up their tables to attract new recruits, students have repeatedly torn up their signs or spit on them. On one occasion, he says, students poured drinks down on them from a building above. "We're constantly harassed," he says. "They are projecting stereotypes onto us, which are not true, and they're also projecting their worst fears upon us. They believe we're oppressors."

Yet while some students may still be furious with the Berkeley College Republicans for inviting controversy to the campus, Tahmas says that their meetings were also better attended by the end of the semester. Newcomers "are not necessarily Republicans either," he says. "They're just interested in hearing us. Because the more you attack or attempt to silence a viewpoint, the more people are interested in it."

That is a truth that the nation's founders understood when they enshrined a protection for minority viewpoints in the Constitution. But there is growing confusion about where that protection now starts and stops. Tahmas says he'll be ready to put out the table again come fall. "We're going to keep going out there every day," he says, "fighting against political correctness." And others will be ready to literally battle over such ideas. ◻

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Ghani takes stock in an ornate dining room in the presidential palace in Afghanistan's capital of Kabul

World

ASHRAF GHANI'S COUNTRY IS KEY TO THE GLOBAL BATTLE AGAINST TERRORISM

'AFGHANISTAN IS THE FRONT LINE'

By Nikhil Kumar/Kabul

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW QUILTY FOR TIME

ON THE MORNING OF MAY 31, A GIANT PLUME OF SMOKE SPREAD ACROSS THE SKY ABOVE THE ARG, THE 19TH CENTURY KABUL FORTRESS THAT HOUSES THE AFGHAN PRESIDENT'S OFFICE AND RESIDENCE.

On the ground, just down the road from its gates and around the corner from the German Embassy, a busy thoroughfare was transformed into a gaping debris-filled crater some 13 ft. deep. The remains of the morning rush hour were everywhere: shattered windscreens, twisted metal, flattened tires. Once again, Kabul was bleeding.

The smoke came from a powerful bomb that killed at least 90 people and wounded more than 400 in what was one of the worst terrorist atrocities to shake Afghanistan. A decade and a half after a U.S.-led invasion aimed at dislodging terrorists, the Kabul bombing was a jolting reminder of the worsening war there, the longest America has ever been involved in. As victims were rushed to the surrounding hospitals, it underlined, in the bloodiest possible terms, what the country's President Ashraf Ghani told TIME just weeks earlier: "This is the front line."

And it is an increasingly dangerous one. Last year, nearly 3,500 Afghan civilians died in the conflict, a record number that included close to 1,000 children, as Taliban insurgents and terrorists from ISIS and other groups gained ground. As of February, the Afghan government's control or influence extended only to about 60% of Afghanistan's 407 districts. All told, some 3 million Afghans—almost 10% of the population—now live in areas under insurgent control or influence. And of the 98 U.S.-designated terrorist organizations worldwide, 20 operate in the borderlands between Afghanistan and Pakistan. "Civilian casualties have risen steadily since 2009," says Aaron B. O'Connell, a historian and former director of defense policy and strategy at the National Security Council under President Barack Obama, "and fighting has been almost constant."

GHANI MET *TIME* at the Arg on May 11, where he works from a desk that was made for King Amanullah Khan, the country's ruler for a decade until 1929. Khan introduced Afghanistan's first constitution and first national budget. He abolished slavery and promoted women's rights. Ultimately, Khan failed to change Afghanistan for good—a conservative tribal revolt forced him to step down.

When Ghani became Afghanistan's leader in 2014, he had Khan's desk brought out of storage, repaired and put in his office. "I sit at the desk of a modernizer who could not complete [his reforms]," Ghani says. For him, the desk is a reminder that "continuity and change need to be managed. It's about finding the right balance."

The Kabul bombing shows just how hard that is, for the desk is also a reminder of the gap between the hope of a stable Afghanistan and the reality of a constantly worsening security situation. The only thing bridging that gap these days is the presence of 8,400 American troops (along with some 4,600 NATO soldiers) and the possibility of more to come. The international troops are there to train Afghan forces and fight terrorists from al-Qaeda, ISIS and other groups. But as security deteriorates, the question is: why should the U.S. send more soldiers to a war that only seems to be going from bad to worse?

For Ghani, it comes down to the terror threat, something he discussed when he made the case for a continuing U.S. presence in Afghanistan in two phone calls with President Donald Trump. (The two leaders also met briefly during Trump's recent trip to Saudi Arabia.) "We were able to talk to each other very easily," Ghani says. "But the style is different so you don't prepare half-hour briefings [for Trump]. You need to be very sharp. It's a business model. Can you do the elevator pitch?"

With the Trump Administration now weighing proposals to send an additional 3,000 to 5,000 American troops to Afghanistan, Ghani's pitch may have worked. Such a boost would mark a reversal of policy from the Obama years, when the emphasis was on leaving Afghanistan. It would come as Washington steps up its fight against ISIS in Afghanistan in addition to Iraq and Syria. On April 13, the U.S. dropped a 21,000-lb. bomb—dubbed the "mother of all bombs"—on an ISIS cave complex in eastern Afghanistan. The bomb "destroyed a very significant group of ISIS leaders," says Ghani, adding that the terrorist group still has hundreds of lethal fighters in the country. "We are not just dying to defend our own freedom," he says.

More than 2,200 U.S. troops have been killed in Afghanistan since 2001, and some 20,000 have been wounded. And yet the Taliban are resurgent, ISIS is taking root, and Ghani says that al-Qaeda—the reason the U.S. invaded Afghanistan in 2001 in the first place—is "not finished by any means." The U.S., Ghani says, can't afford to walk away. "I would like the American taxpayer to imagine, given what Osama [bin Laden] alone could do … what if a third, a half—God forbid, or all—of Afghanistan is a center of global terrorism incorporated?" he says. "[Americans] are not safe, but if this menace is not contained, none of us is going to be safe."

In addition to the foreign soldiers in the country, Afghanistan now has more than 300,000 of its own troops in the field fighting the Taliban and other groups. It is telling that most of the Afghan watchers imagine a strategy that leads not to the defeat of the Taliban but to some form of negotiations. Experts say that simply sending more U.S. troops won't make Afghanistan safe. "A political solution has to be the goal," says Andrew Wilder of the U.S. Institute of Peace. But will the insurgents come to

An injured man is carried to an ambulance after the May 31 blast in Kabul that left at least 90 dead

ANDREW QUILTY

the negotiating table?

"There are advantages to sending more troops," says Michael Kugelman of the Wilson Center. "You can enhance important training and advising programs for Afghan troops and provide a measure of reassurance to an Afghan military with low morale, which worries that U.S. forces will abandon the country." But the best Washington can hope for, he adds, is that "you can keep things from falling apart completely and give the Afghans more space and time to come up with a reconciliation plan [with the Taliban]."

GHANI, WHO JUST TURNED 68, is an unlikely politician—and an even more unlikely wartime leader. Born into a prominent Afghan family, he first left the country in his teens, traveling to Oregon as an exchange student, and then to college in Beirut. In the 1970s, he taught at Kabul University before leaving for the U.S. for almost a quarter-century as Afghanistan was consumed by war. At the end of that decade, a communist coup was followed by a Soviet occupation that lasted until 1989.

Like millions of their fellow Afghans, Ghani and his family were forced to remain in exile. He taught at the University of California, Berkeley, and Johns Hopkins University before an 11-year stint at the World Bank. In the years after the fall of the Taliban, he co-wrote a book on failed states. His approach is consistently cerebral: when Ghani talked with TIME about war and terrorism, his references ranged from Max Weber and V.S. Naipaul to Lenin's theories, South Korea's economic miracle and the writings of Gabriel García Márquez. Politics, he admits, has been an adjustment. "What I've learned is that doing the right thing is not enough," he says. "You have to communicate and convince your stakeholders."

As Finance Minister until 2004, Ghani was known as an impatient technocrat with a short temper and little time for the dealmaking and compromises of politics. "I had a reputation for being extremely intolerant, and I was," he says. To his critics, Ghani's attitude showed that he was out of touch—more American college professor than Afghan politician who could effectively navigate the country's complex patchwork of ethnic and tribal allegiances. "He was away from the country for a long time," says Rahmatullah Nabil, a former Afghan intelligence chief. "He did not know politics, and he only knew the country from reading about it."

Ghani won less than 3% of the vote when he first ran for President, in 2009. His second run in 2014 resulted in a disputed ballot, with claims of systemic fraud sparking a protracted feud between Ghani and his rival Abdullah Abdullah, a former foreign minister. Washington brokered a power-sharing deal that eventually saw Ghani become President, while Abdullah was appointed to the newly created post of Chief Executive. Two and a half years on, Kabul still abounds with rumors of discord between the two former rivals, complicating governance.

THE TURMOIL OVER the election came as NATO ended its combat mission in Afghanistan. The exit was a blow for security, and for the Afghan economy. As foreign spending in Afghanistan dropped, GDP growth collapsed from more than 14% in 2012 to less than 1% in 2015. The year 2015 "was a battle for survival," says Ghani.

The pullout of the vast majority of NATO's troops in 2014 gave the Taliban an opening. In September 2015, the militants seized Kunduz, overwhelming Afghan troops, who managed to retake the northern provincial capital only with the help of U.S. forces. The Taliban made a second attempt last year and again a few weeks ago. "The Taliban keep coming back," says Nabil. "The security planning has been incomplete."

Ghani sees it differently. Afghanistan is pressured by its enemies, he admits, but not immediately endangered. "It is not that we are saying we are not

in conflict," he says. "That would be illusionary. But we are not about to collapse." He returns again to the importance of U.S. support in making Afghanistan's forces more effective. More U.S. and NATO support, he says, will help Afghanistan overhaul its air force and double its special forces.

But prosecuting the war isn't just a combination of Afghan will and Western support. Afghanistan is surrounded by states—Russia, China, Iran, India and Pakistan—that are big and heavily armed, with often competing interests. Before the Senate in February, General John W. Nicholson, who commands the U.S.-led international forces in the country, expressed concern about "Pakistan, Russia and Iran, who continue to legitimize and support the Taliban and undermine the Afghan government's efforts to create a stable Afghanistan." Russia's role resurfaced in April. When asked if Moscow is sending weapons to the Taliban, Nicholson replied, "I'm not refuting that."

China, meanwhile, is spending billions to boost its clout in Pakistan—which Ghani accuses of waging an "undeclared war" on his homeland by providing the Taliban sanctuary. India has a long, bloody history of conflict with Pakistan: to counter Islamabad, as well as its benefactor Beijing, New Delhi is funding development projects in Afghanistan and teaming up with Kabul and Tehran to build an Iranian port that will open up a new trade route between India, landlocked Afghanistan and Central Asia.

TO GHANI, Pakistan is the biggest obstacle. It's imperative, he says, for Washington to convince Islamabad "that continuing to sponsor destabilizing forces … harms their own interests. There cannot be a "distinction between good and bad terrorists," he says. "This is a snake that will bite you."

But although that has been a stated imperative of Washington's for years, Presidents of both parties have little to show for their efforts. In the pursuit of peace, Ghani is himself willing to engage with the Taliban, saying, "It depends on them: the red line is our constitution." A potential model is his recent deal with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a notorious former warlord whose forces ruthlessly bombarded Kabul during the country's civil war in the 1990s. Hekmatyar, dubbed the "Butcher of Kabul" and designated a global terrorist by the U.S., accepted the Afghan constitution and agreed to abandon violence in return for a series of guarantees, including amnesty for himself and his lieutenants and the release of prisoners belonging to his militia. While he is a much weakened figure with a limited role in the current insurgency, Hekmatyar's return—which was backed by Ghani's Western allies—shows what is possible.

GHANI MADE THE CASE FOR A CONTINUING U.S. PRESENCE IN AFGHANISTAN IN TWO PHONE CALLS WITH TRUMP

Critics of the Hekmatyar deal say it shows yet another warlord escaping accountability. In response, Ghani the professor gives way to Ghani the realist: "Did the deal in Northern Ireland underline the culture of impunity? How many Nazis were prosecuted after World War II? How many Vichy? Let us not impose two standards. If we are seeking peace, we need to have forgetfulness regarding the past … The key issue is: Can we change bullets to ballots?"

For now, bullets rule. At the Kabul offices of Tolo News, Afghanistan's biggest TV network, news director Lotfullah Najafizada says his daily assignment meetings with reporters from across the country have become almost entirely dominated by the worsening security situation. "I ask for positive stories, but there are hardly any," says Najafizada, seven of whose colleagues were killed by a Taliban suicide bomb in January 2016. "It began changing after 2014. From around 50% just a few years ago, 95% of the stories we see have become about security. We talk about fighting, we talk about death, we talk about acts of terrorism."

Public confidence in every level of government has fallen in recent years, according to the Asia Foundation, which has been surveying Afghan public opinion since 2004. Corruption is widespread—nearly all the Afghans in last year's survey cited it as a problem "in all areas of daily life." Meanwhile, amid a worsening economic and security situation, opium production shot up by more than 40% in 2016, fanning the insurgency with illicit funds. Little surprise, then, that less than one-third of Afghans in the Asia Foundation survey said they thought their country was moving in the right direction.

NOT ALL IS GLOOMY. Tolo is part of a vibrant media sector that is one of the new Afghanistan's success stories. Under the Taliban, TV was forbidden and there was just one radio station—and it was devoted to religion. Now there are more than 170 radio stations and more than 80 private television stations—an example of the country's progress despite the relentless fighting and terrorist attacks. Under the Taliban, girls were forbidden to go to school. Now millions of them are getting an education. Perceptions toward women are changing for the better. Nearly three-quarters of Afghans in the Asia Foundation survey said women should be allowed to work outside the home, up 10% from 2015.

Last summer, Afghanistan inaugurated a dam in western Herat province. Work had begun on the project in the 1970s. But then war intervened. Four decades later, it was finally completed with Indian help. "There were spontaneous celebrations across the whole country," says Ghani. "You cannot make the economy wait for security."

Still, the war is never far away. In 2015, Afghanistan inaugurated a new parliament building—a symbol of its young democracy—also with Indian assistance. Just months later, Taliban rockets targeted the copper-domed structure. The damage is still visible in the form of a shattered third-floor window, now partially covered with an Afghan flag. Through the opening is a view of the remains of Darulaman Palace, built by Amanullah Khan, the King whose desk means so much to Ghani. Last year, the President launched an initiative to restore the palace. Which means, like the desk at which Ghani sits, the new parliament is a triumph of hope over experience. —*With reporting by* FAKHRUDDIN SHOAIB/KABUL ◻

ANDREW QUILTY

President Trump should send more troops to Afghanistan

By Admiral James Stavridis

AS THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION WRESTLES WITH LOCAtions, numbers and missions for American combat deployments globally, one perennial has re-emerged near the top of the list: Afghanistan. Famously called the "Graveyard of Empires" to reflect the successive defeats of Alexander the Great, the British Raj and the Soviet Union, Afghanistan continues to vex U.S. military planners and political leaders. After perhaps a $1 trillion investment and thousands of casualties, another ask for troops is particularly unwelcome.

The question on the table is simple: How many troops do we need in Afghanistan? When I was the Supreme Allied Commander at NATO for global operations, I had strategic responsibility for the fighting in Afghanistan and a total NATO force of more than 150,000. Over my four years in command, I had four brilliant generals working for me commanding those NATO forces: Generals McChrystal, Petraeus, Allen and Dunford, the latter still on active duty as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. With each of them, I spent time honing our requests for more troops, apportioning the burden among the 28 nations of NATO and, sadly, writing condolence letters to the families of those killed on my watch. But we generally succeeded in wresting control of much of Afghanistan from the Taliban.

AS WE DOWNSIZED our presence considerably around the time I left command in 2013, the number we agreed to as a sustaining force was roughly 20,000—still a decrease of nearly 90%. The idea was that we could maintain four major regional headquarters around the country, a sizable training mission, reasonable special-forces strike capability and sufficient self-protection for all U.S. personnel in country. That number remains roughly correct, but the overall force level for several years has not met the 20,000 goal—instead today we have less than 14,000. With an additional 3,000 to 5,000, requested by General Mick Nicholson, the current and superb four-star commander, we have a reasonable shot at stemming the increasing momentum of the Taliban and achieving a better outcome.

The Administration and Congress should support an increase of 5,000, apportioned equally between the U.S. and the rest of NATO forces with troops still in the country. While they're far less likely to send troops, we should also approach Canada and the Netherlands. Indeed, all of the NATO nations have good reason to be very forthcoming to prove to President Trump that NATO is the relevant organization he finally admitted it was a month or so ago.

The reasons for approving this increase are quite clear. For one, it is a tactical necessity. Over the past two years, the Taliban have been steadily encroaching on Afghan government control of territory, and by some estimates they are now in a position to "influence the population" in 40% of the country. While Afghan security forces number more than 300,000 and have shown real mettle in many places, they are taking significant casualties and still require effective mentoring down to at least the battalion level. That means an increase in our overall troop strength is necessary. Second, the emergence of an Islamic State element in Afghanistan is very concerning. While they have largely been unable to galvanize the population or create cooperation with the Taliban, they have conducted a series of disruptive terrorist attacks and added further chaos to an unstable system.

5,000
Number of additional NATO troops that would keep the influence of the Taliban and the emerging threat of ISIS in check.

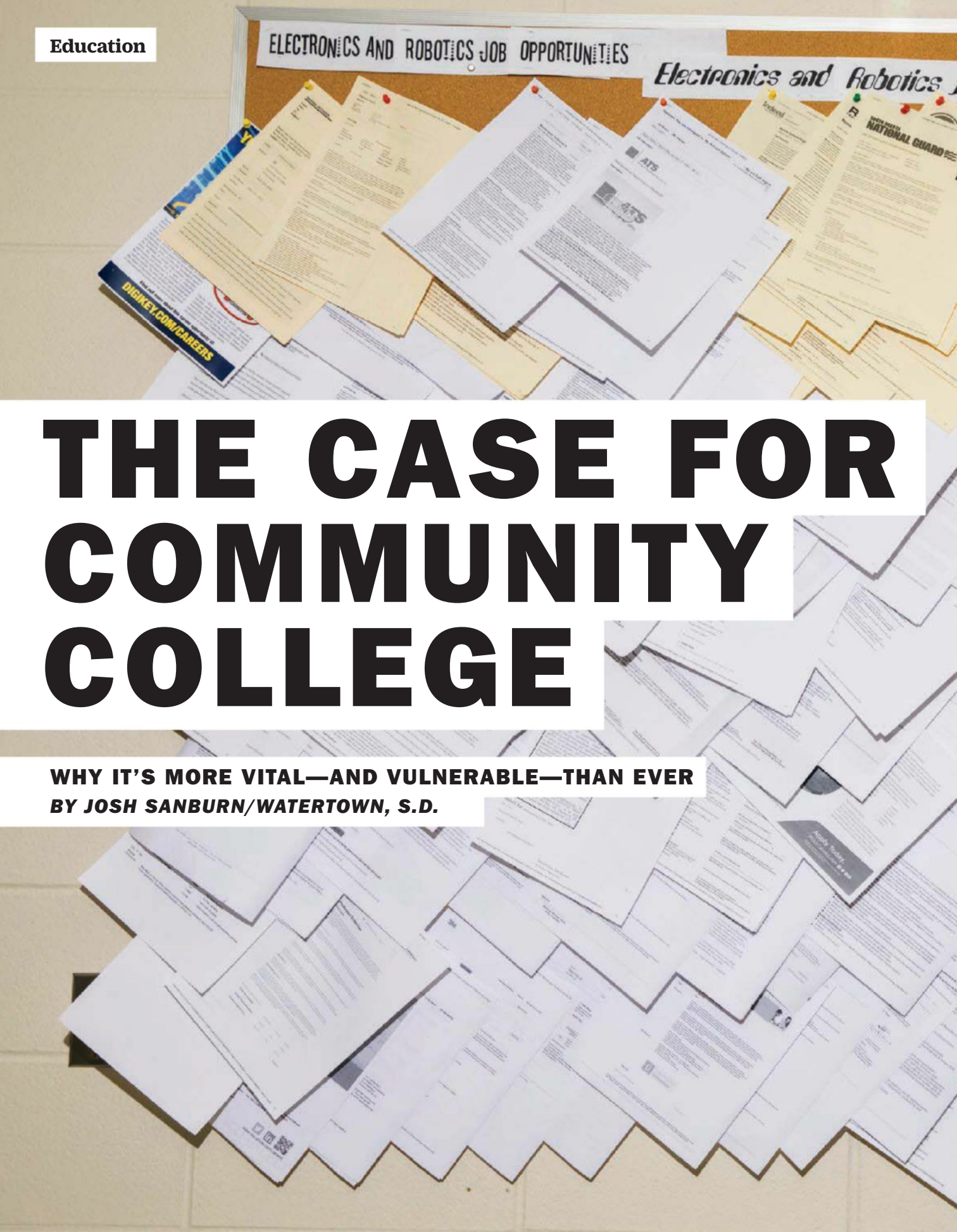
100%
Increase in the number of Afghanistan's special-forces troops planned to be deployed by the Ghani government over the next few years, from 17,000 to 34,000.

TONY KARUMBA—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

A THIRD KEY REASON is to create political capital that can be very helpful when some portion of the Taliban, who are not a holistic organization to say the least, eventually come to the negotiating table. We will never win militarily in Afghanistan, nor can we kill our way to success. Sooner or later we will need to bargain, and a stronger NATO force on the ground will give us better leverage. Fourth, the additional forces will tell Pakistan that we intend to continue to work for a successful outcome in Afghanistan, and will hopefully encourage them to force the Taliban into negotiations.

The good news in terms of this Graveyard of Empires is that the U.S. and NATO are hardly empires—we have no desire to rule Afghanistan, control its not insignificant mineral wealth, defend its borders or guide its destiny. Our mission remains ensuring the nation is relatively stable and does not return to providing a protected shelter for terrorists threatening the U.S. This small troop increase makes sense, and it would be the right move by the Trump team.

Stavridis is dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and a former Supreme Allied Commander at NATO



THE CASE FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGE

WHY IT'S MORE VITAL—AND VULNERABLE—THAN EVER

BY JOSH SANBURN/WATERTOWN, S.D.

RILEY ANDERSON WAS A C STUDENT IN HIGH school, bored by the work and driven partly by a desire to stay on the football team. In 2015, he graduated 25th in his class—of 31 students.

Without a particular career in mind, Anderson enrolled at Lake Area Technical Institute (LATI) in Watertown, S.D., a relatively inexpensive two-year college 30 minutes from his home. There, his classrooms were hangar-size spaces filled with wind turbines, solar panels, ethanol distillers and miniature hydroelectric dams. It seemed more like his dad's garage, where Anderson would spend hours tinkering with his 1971 Chevrolet pickup truck, than a place to learn math. But trigonometry began making sense when you used it to fit together piping systems. Basic computer code seemed worth learning when you could program an assembly-line robot.

The former C student soon started making straight A's. He graduated in May with a 4.0 GPA and, most important, a job lined up. Two years after squeaking by in high school, Anderson is set to become a maintenance technician at 3M. His annual starting salary is $60,000. The South Dakota median is a little over $53,000.

LATI is a model for the growing number of politicians, CEOs and academics who believe that community colleges have the potential to become much needed engines of economic and social mobility. Last year, 99% of its students entered the workforce or went on to four-year colleges. The school has an 83% retention rate, well above the national community-college average of about 50%, and few instances of students' defaulting on their loans. The evolving curriculum is designed with input from more than 300 regional

A bulletin board in Lake Area Technical Institute's electronics and robotics department advertises dozens of job openings around South Dakota

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ACKERMAN + GRUBER FOR TIME

businesses, and starting salaries for LATI alumni average 27% more than those of other new hires in the region. All of this has led the college, with a student body of almost 2,500, to 14 consecutive years of growing enrollment. Officials originally projected that LATI would reach its current size in 2040.

That success, sadly, is an outlier. Across the nation, community colleges—which educate about 40% of all undergraduates in the U.S.—are facing declining enrollment and tightened budgets. Even as officials hold them up as the answer to bridging America's yawning blue-collar-skills gap, many are ill equipped to deliver on the promise. Less than 40% of community-college students graduate, and many drop out their first year. While more than 80% of two-year students say they want a bachelor's degree, only 14% get one after six years.

The schools, meanwhile, are increasingly reliant on money from students as states cut funding, an added burden on a population that can ill afford it. Low-income students outnumber middle- and high-income students at community colleges by 2 to 1, and a recent study estimated that as many as 14% may be homeless.

The schools "are facing huge problems," says Sara Goldrick-Rab, a professor of higher-education policy at Temple University, who supports making community college free. "I don't think they've ever been more vulnerable."

At the same time, the value of an associate's degree has never been clearer. Currently, the median salary for someone with only a high school diploma is $36,000. For those with a community-college degree, it's $42,600. And that gap is projected to grow as automation transforms the U.S. workforce, making higher-level science, technology, engineering and math skills critical in fields that once required little more than manual dexterity. Earlier this year, 48% of small businesses reported that they couldn't find qualified job applicants to fill open positions, according to the National Federation of Independent Business.

Recognizing the need, states across the country have taken steps to make community college more accessible. In May, Tennessee expanded its popular free community-college program, from accepting only high school graduates to all adults in the state. The month before, New York become the first state to offer free tuition for both two-year and four-year public institutions, albeit with cost exemptions and conditions that have been criticized by free-college advocates. Oregon made community college free for in-state students in 2015, while Arkansas and Kentucky are developing similar programs.

The importance of two-year schools was routinely emphasized by President Obama, who called for making community college free in 2015. But the proposal faced opposition from the Republican-led Congress and went nowhere. Despite winning a majority of rural votes in 2016, President Trump has barely discussed two-year schools, while proposing a 13% cut for the Department of Education, a plan that could make it even more difficult for the nation's most vulnerable schools to serve their students.

AMERICA'S FIRST community college is widely thought to be Joliet Junior College in Illinois, which was founded in 1901 to prepare students for a so-called senior college. Dozens of others followed, but their mission evolved after the Great Depression. Instead of providing a foundation in the liberal arts, many two-year schools became job-training centers, churning out teachers, nurses, police officers, pilots and even dentists. Compared with four-year colleges, they attracted more women, minorities and lower-income students and tended to be concentrated in small cities and rural towns.

Today community colleges largely break down into two categories: schools meant to help students transfer to a four-year college, and occupational institutions like LATI that are focused on placing students in jobs. Both grant associate's degrees, cater to commuters and other nontraditional students and offer a comparative bargain: average annual community-college tuition is roughly $3,520, compared with $9,650 for four-year public colleges and $33,480 for four-year private colleges.

'COMMUNITY COLLEGES ARE NOW SEEN AS THE PRIMARY VEHICLES FOR WORKFORCE TRAINING IN THIS COUNTRY.'

CARRIE KISKER, EDUCATION-POLICY RESEARCHER

Since the Great Recession, the vocational approach has become the favored model. "Community colleges are now seen as the primary vehicles for workforce training in this country," says Carrie Kisker, director of the Center for the Study of Community Colleges. According to a 2016 report from Georgetown University's Center on Education and the Workforce, 11.6 million jobs were created in the recovery. All but 100,000 of those jobs went to people with some college education.

But the national emphasis hasn't translated into widespread results. To many education-policy experts, the poor graduation and job-placement rates at most community colleges are the result of asking underresourced schools to serve underresourced students. Students often work part or full time to afford tuition, and many are parents. Too many schools, meanwhile, lack robust counseling departments or career-services offices to keep students on track, let alone affordable on-campus child care.

"A very big reason for the lack of success is that students have no idea what they want to do—they just know they want to go to college," says Sandy Baum, a senior fellow at the Urban Institute. "And there aren't enough resources to provide appropriate guidance."

The problems are particularly acute in places that stand to benefit most. In Pennsylvania, which has a need for skilled workers after losing tens of thousands of blue collar manufacturing jobs, community-college graduation rates are some of the lowest in the country. Bucks County Community College in Newtown, Pa., graduated 12.3% of its students in 2014, according to the U.S. Department of Education. At Community College of Philadelphia, the figure was just 9.8%.

The culprits are many. Pennsylvania's 14 community colleges are run as stand-alone shops, without an umbrella group to push for increased funding and shared resources. Unlike South Dakota's LATI,

LATI instructor Brooks Jacobsen works with students in the school's robotics lab

which shapes its coursework around the needs of employers and relies on their donations of heavy-duty machinery for its classrooms, Keystone State schools have been left largely on their own. "The chronic lack of resources makes it more difficult for community colleges to respond to the workforce needs than in a state where they're better supported," says Kate Shaw, executive director of the Philadelphia-based education nonprofit Research for Action.

Other schools have found success with more creative approaches. In Texas, Austin Community College recently redesigned an old shopping mall to become a high-tech learning lab with more than 600 computer stations. Northern Virginia Community College, one of the nation's largest two-year colleges, with roughly 75,000 students (the largest is Indiana's Ivy Tech Community College system, with 170,000), now develops curriculums with George Mason University to make it easier for its students to transfer for a bachelor's degree. Pierce College in Washington State has dramatically increased its graduation rates by mandating a college-success course, doubling its tutoring services and allowing faculty members to see how many students complete each course.

The City University of New York doubled graduation rates in its two-year program after offering free tuition, books and even public transportation for students who register full time. Other schools in New York and California have announced similar programs.

Few states have taken bigger strides than Tennessee, which not only made community college free for high school graduates beginning in 2015 but also overhauled how its schools organized their curriculums. The schools now offer a structured group of eight disciplines rather than dozens of programs. After two years, more than 33,000 students have taken advantage of the Tennessee Promise, increasing first-year community-college enrollment by 30%.

"It has completely changed the conversation at the dinner table," says Tristan Denley, vice chancellor for academic affairs at the Tennessee board of regents, which runs the state's community-college system. "Five years ago, students might ask Mom and Dad, 'Can I go to college?' Now it's 'Where should I go to college?'"

LATI'S 40-ACRE CAMPUS is filled with semitrucks, miniaturized assembly lines, industrial robots, 3-D printers, LED panels and even a tiny city that will be powered by a wind turbine on the school's roof. But its best advertisement is decidedly low tech: a bulletin board inside the electronics and robotics department covered in overlapping printouts, each one touting a job opening. "To us, a student is successful if they're placed," says Mike Cartney, LATI's president. "We talk to them about 'Where do you want to be? Where do you want to go with your life?'"

For most students at LATI, the answer is securing a well-paying job with one of the hundreds of companies that help keep the school responsive. In fact, demand has pushed wages so high that legislators in this deeply red state recently increased the sales tax to help pay community-college instructors more than the starting salaries of their students.

"Lake Area gives you the nudge," said Riley Anderson in the weeks before he finished school and prepared to start one of those well-paying jobs. "Most of my class already has jobs lined up, and it's a month before graduation." ◻

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Arundhati Roy is back with her much anticipated second novel
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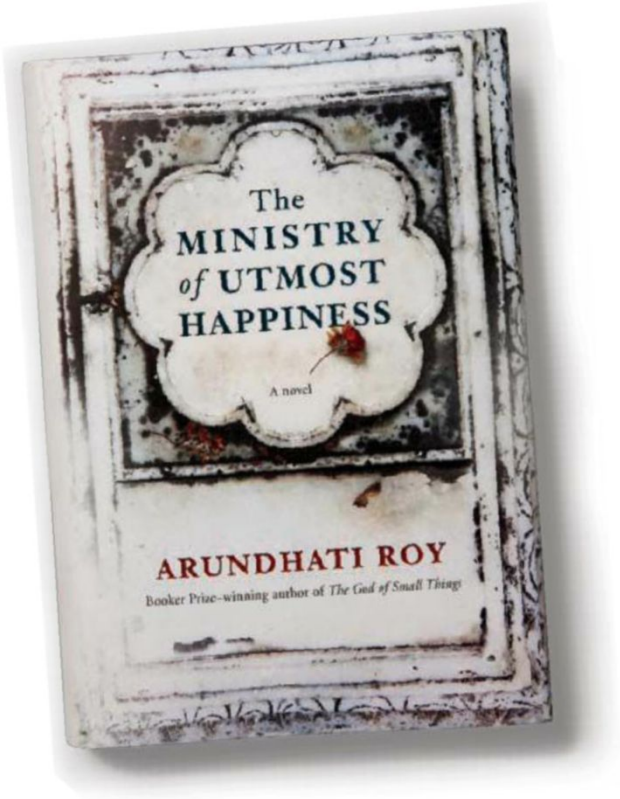


Roy's return to form

ARUNDHATI ROY IS BACK WITH A SECOND NOVEL—20 YEARS AFTER HER FIRST BY SARAH BEGLEY

INDIAN AUTHOR ARUNDHATI Roy attained instant literary fame with her 1997 debut novel, *The God of Small Things,* which won the Man Booker Prize, topped international best-seller lists and became required reading for high school and college students, cementing its status as a modern classic. Roy has published more than a dozen nonfiction books in the 20 years since but hasn't produced another novel. Until now.

Like its predecessor, *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* is a complex, nonlinear narrative that blends the personal and political. But unlike *The God of Small Things,* which focused on a pair of twins whose tragedy was familial, this is a novel of conflict on a grand scale.

Although the plot spans 50 years, leading up to the present day, and encompasses a vast cast, it orbits around two women in particular. The first is Anjum, an Old Delhi *hijra* (a word used in Urdu and other languages to describe trans women and other gender identities) who spends the first part of her adulthood living in a *hijra* boardinghouse before setting up camp solo, in a graveyard. She and her fellow *hijras* live separately from what they see as the real world. As one *hijra* puts it, "normal" people get upset about "price-rise, children's school-admissions, husbands' beatings, wives' cheatings, Hindu-Muslim riots, Indo-Pak war—*outside* things that settle down eventually. But for us the price-rise and school-admissions and beating-husbands and cheating-wives are all *inside* us. The riot is *inside* us. The war is *inside* us. Indo-Pak is *inside* us. It will never settle down."

> *'In Delhi there was no war other than the usual one—the war of the rich against the poor.'*
>
> **—ARUNDHATI ROY, *THE MINISTRY OF UTMOST HAPPINESS***

The other pivotal woman in this novel is Tilo, a nonconformist architect with a personality like smoke: quiet, diffuse, bewitching. Thanks to a sometimes-requited romance with a Kashmiri insurgent, she becomes an observer of, and even a participant in, the conflict there. "I would like to write one of those sophisticated stories in which even though nothing much happens there's lots to write about," she writes in her notebook. "That can't be done in Kashmir. It's not sophisticated, what happens here. There's too much blood for good literature."

There may be terrible bloodshed in *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness,* but it is undeniably good literature. Roy's rich and knowing narration wings across the landscape, traversing caste, religion and gender divides. She acerbically captures the cruel ironies of a city like Delhi, where dead paupers lie in "air-conditioned splendor" in the morgue, despite never having "experienced anything of the kind while they were alive." She has a keen sympathy for women in dangerous spaces, whose bodies are used as shields, sacrifices and good-luck charms. But women can use their bodies as weapons too, as when Anjum wins a public argument with a politician by going into a courtesan's dance, swirling her hips and clapping her hands—"aggressive sexuality aimed at humiliating" the bashful man. Victimized women can also form healing bonds among themselves. After the trauma of Kashmir, Tilo settles into Anjum's graveyard compound, now a shantytown for various lovable outcasts.

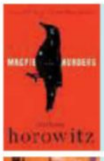
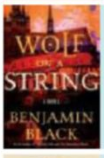
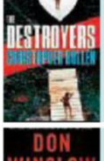
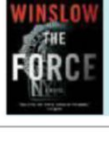
At the heart of the novel is an interrogation of sectarian violence, why it persists and what feeds it. Government complicity and military malfeasance play a role, yes. But as one character explains, it boils down to this: people "aren't very good at other people's pain."

Arriving as it does at a time of geopolitical uncertainty, Roy's novel will be the unmissable literary read of the summer. With its insights into human nature, its memorable characters and its luscious prose, *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* is well worth the 20-year wait. □

PREVIOUS PAGE: PHOTOGRAPH BY DILYS NG FOR TIME; ILLUSTRATIONS BY PETER ARKLE FOR TIME

Thrill seekers

A look at how often this summer's most intriguing mysteries deploy the genre's well-worn tropes. —S.B.

		DOES IT HAVE ...				
		A PRIVATE INVESTIGATOR	A KID IN PERIL	A PROTAGONIST WHO DRINKS TOO MUCH	THIEVERY	ILLICIT ROMANCE
	***MAGPIE MURDERS*** **By Anthony Horowitz** A book editor tries to solve a murder in this mystery within a mystery	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	***WOLF ON A STRING*** **By Benjamin Black** In Prague in 1599, an arriviste gets mixed up in deadly court drama	✓		✓	✓	✓
	THE HOLE **By Hye-young Pyun** This story, about the aftermath of a car crash, is a Korean take on *Misery*				✓	✓
	DARK SATURDAY **By Nicci French** A psychotherapist treats a woman accused of killing her family	✓	✓		✓	✓
	THE LOST ONES **By Sheena Kamal** Fifteen years after giving her up for adoption, a woman searches for her daughter	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	THE CHILD **By Fiona Barton** A journalist tries to confirm the identity of an unearthed child's skeleton		✓			✓
	SINCE WE FELL **By Dennis Lehane** After an on-air meltdown, a journalist becomes a shut-in and faces new frights	✓			✓	
	THE LYING GAME **By Ruth Ware** Four childhood friends reunite as adults in the wake of a murder		✓	✓		✓
	***THE DESTROYERS*** **By Christopher Bollen** A grieving man seeks solace by moving in with a friend—who vanishes	✓	✓			✓
	***THE FORCE*** **By Don Winslow** A dirty cop in the NYPD comes under investigation by the feds			✓	✓	✓

Armchair traveler

SEVEN NEW NOVELS THAT WILL TAKE YOU AROUND THE GLOBE BY SARAH BEGLEY

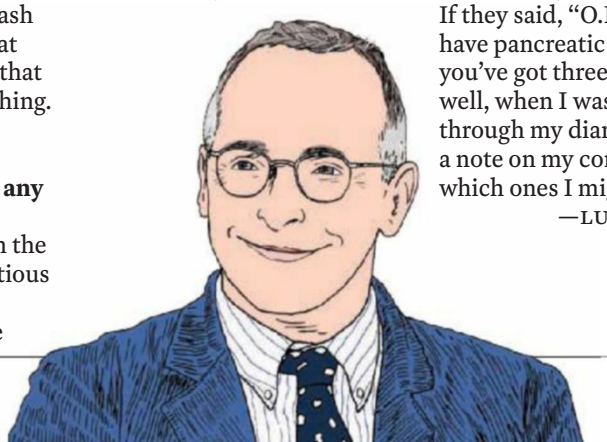
Quick Talk: David Sedaris

Things David Sedaris must do before bed, if he wants a good night's sleep: pick up litter from the streets near his home in West Sussex, England (where the local council named a garbage truck after him in appreciation), clear the sink of dirty dishes and write in his diary. Since his first entry at age 20, in 1977, Sedaris has composed 165 volumes of private commentary, which he mined for his latest work, Theft by Finding: Diaries (1977–2002).

Have you ever read a diary you weren't supposed to?
In Chicago I found this woman's diary in a trash can. She was one of those people searching for meaning in her life, going from one religion to another, having sex with guys she met. It was one of the best books I ever read.

Why are you such a diary devotee?
If you told me I couldn't write in my diary anymore, my life would be torture and I'd have to get on some kind of medication. Stranded on a desert island, I'd just write my diary in the sand with a stick. The tide would wash it away, but I'd know that I'd written it down and that would at least be something.

Re-reading your own writing, did you make any discoveries?
I don't like, especially in the early years, how pretentious I was. That was hard to take. Then again, you're 20 years old, you're an art student, you're going to be obnoxious. It comes with the territory.

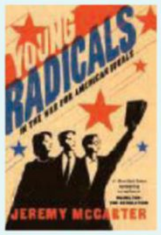


You once said you'd die if anyone got their hands on your diary.
Well, I would—*Theft by Finding* is my edit. But if you were to just go and take my diary off the shelf, I would have to kill you.

And upon your death?
If they said, "O.K., look, you have pancreatic cancer and you've got three weeks," well, when I was reading through my diaries, I made a note on my computer of which ones I might burn.

—LUCY FELDMAN

ILLUSTRATION BY PETER ARKLE FOR TIME

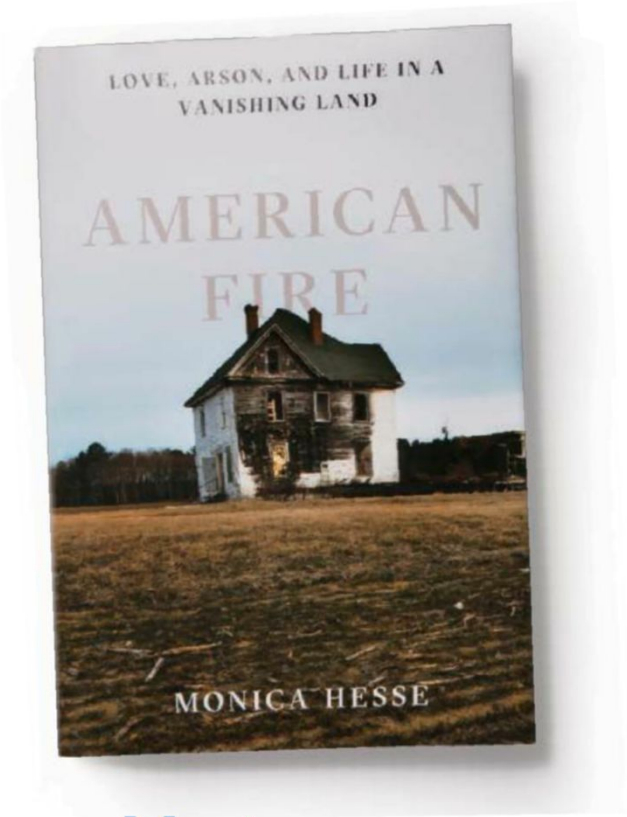


Rebels with causes

When author Jeremy McCarter was in college, he became intrigued by a particular moment in American history: he noticed that, from around 1912 to 1913, young Americans were especially hopeful and engaged in progressive political issues. They were certain they had the answers to our problems. Then we entered World War I.

McCarter's new book, *Young Radicals: In the War for American Ideals,* is about those idealists and "what happens when the world, which had seemed to be spinning rapidly in the direction of peace and social progress, falls to pieces." McCarter (who previously collaborated with Lin-Manuel Miranda on the book *Hamilton: The Revolution*) chose five fascinating characters: Randolph Bourne, a social critic; Max Eastman, a poet and editor of an antiwar publication; Walter Lippmann, a political commentator who changed the face of journalism; Alice Paul, a suffragist who organized a women's march on Washington; and John Reed, a communist who reported on the Russian Revolution.

Their stories may well resonate with passionate young political thinkers today. As McCarter writes, "The need to keep fighting about the meaning of America's ideals is, itself, an American ideal." —*S.B.*



Smoldering ruins

AN ABSORBING TRUE-CRIME READ THAT DOESN'T LEAVE YOU FEELING COMPLICIT BY KARL VICK

AS RURAL AMERICA EMPTIES out, houses that were once homes make the sad transition to abandoned buildings. Virginia's Accomack County, once the wealthiest rural county in the nation, had 800 such forelorn structures in November 2012. Months later, 70 of them had gone up in flames, one at a time, always at night.

The arson investigation takes in a lot. But the propulsive pleasure of *American Fire* rests in author Monica Hesse's decision not to force a thing. The book has the brisk diligence of big-city journalism (Hesse writes for the Washington *Post*) and the languid chattiness of the small town where she lived while researching it. One chapter begins, "Arson is a weird crime." Another is titled "What Happened Next."

And you want to know. The culprits are revealed up front: two locals locked in a lopsided love affair. The mystery is why they did it. Hesse gathers the pieces but leaves connections to the reader. When they snap together, the feeling is a bit like gazing upon a blaze you've just lit.

"I'm sorry,' Charlie Smith told arresting officers. 'But I didn't light them all.'"

—FROM MONICA HESSE'S *AMERICAN FIRE*

The Middle East puzzle's missing piece

Life is short, and writings about Israel and the Palestinians can be very, very long. So it's a good thing there's Nathan Thrall. An American analyst with a severe allergy to conventional wisdom, Thrall has lived in Jerusalem since 2011, writing dense but rich reports for the International Crisis Group, and now *The Only Language They Understand.* It posits that the key to resolving the conflict lies not in negotiations but in force—which history shows is what produces change.

Force doesn't have to mean violence. Jimmy Carter's coercive threat to end military aid to Israel pushed that nation onto the road to peace with Egypt. But violence cannot be ignored, Thrall says. Only after staggering military losses did the Palestine Liberation Organization reduce its territorial demand to land lost in 1967. It was the first *intifadeh* that drew Israel to the negotiating table, and the second that preceded its pullout from the Gaza Strip.

Thrall reckons that control of Gaza is about as much as the Palestinians should expect. They lack the military power (and, outside a militant minority, the bloody-mindedness) to get Israel to risk the uncertainties of a Palestinian state on the West Bank, which it has comfortably controlled for half a century. Although Thrall judges elites on both sides remorselessly, he says peace talks fail for a reason: "No strategy can succeed if it is premised on Israel behaving irrationally." —*K.V.*

Something to talk about ...

BOOKS THAT WILL START CONVERSATIONS THIS SUMMER, FOR EVERY CONTEXT
BY SARAH BEGLEY

... under your beach umbrella

ELEANOR OLIPHANT IS COMPLETELY FINE
Gail Honeyman
A woman with no filter and minimal social skills learns how to eschew her lonely lifestyle and make real human connections. Reese Witherspoon has snapped up the movie rights for this buzzy, life-affirming novel.

... at book club

HUNGER
Roxane Gay
The *Bad Feminist* author's new memoir explores her relationship with her weight and the trauma of her rape. She calls the brutally honest account "the most difficult writing experience of my life."

... during a bridal shower

ONCE AND FOR ALL
Sarah Dessen
The beloved YA author's latest novel stars a wedding planner's daughter who is disillusioned by love; her first boyfriend died unexpectedly. But her faith in romance might be restored when a young heartthrob joins the business.

... at the watercooler (or on Slack)

TOUCH
Courtney Maum
In this novel, a world-famous trend forecaster who predicted "the swipe" realizes that, much to her employer's chagrin, the world is ready to turn away from technology and reconnect person to person.

... during graduation parties

WHAT WE LOSE
Zinzi Clemmons
A college student with an American father and a South African mother feels torn between two worlds after her mom dies of cancer. Her soul-searching continues through her early adulthood as she becomes a mother herself.

... at a backyard barbecue

THE END OF EDDY
Édouard Louis
Louis has been hailed as the French J.D. Vance, explaining the social forces of working-class France in a post-Brexit world. This autobiographical novel documents the life of a young gay boy trying to fit in in a tough, industrial town in the north of France.

PHOTOGRAPH BY DILYS NG FOR TIME

FESTIVALS

A fraught Cannes, inside screening rooms and out

By Stephanie Zacharek

Matvey Novikov stars in Loveless, *one of Cannes' dark parables this year*

SPENDING 12 DAYS AT THE CANNES Film Festival is, for movie lovers, pretty close to paradise, and most years it's extremely easy to lose track of the world outside. Not so this year.

Even if nearly all critics and journalists dutifully switched off their phones during screenings, most of us couldn't resist powering up immediately afterward to check for news updates. World events don't stop unspooling as we're sitting in the dark. Plus, security was tighter than ever this year: at press screenings and gala premieres, every saggy backpack and bejeweled minaudière was thoroughly inspected by the cheerful staff, women in sleek Mondrian-style dresses that Emma Peel would have loved. Everything in Cannes, including the employees' uniforms, is just a little bit glamorous. That's less a way of avoiding an uncertain, scary world than an act of standing as a bulwark against it.

Yet despite the dazzling, parade-of-stars setting, one way or another Cannes always brings the outside world to its screens. One of the best movies at the festival this year, Andrey Zvyagintsev's *Loveless,* is a story about divorcing parents (Maryana Spivak and Aleksey Rozin) whose child goes missing. But those are just the basics: Zvyagintsev—director of the 2014 Oscar nominee *Leviathan*—uses that plot to weave an allegory about modern Russia and the heartlessness of its government. The picture is made with a seeming chilliness that's actually a kind of anguished warmth. And Swedish director Ruben Ostlund's *The Square*—which won the festival's top prize, the Palme d'Or—is a sly, sardonic picture about a dashing museum curator (Claes Bang) whose dysfunctional institution is a microcosm of the larger world. Can art, or the tools used to promote it, cross the bounds of moral responsibility? What does it take to jog the upper classes out of their comfortable insularity? *The Square* is outlandishly funny and biting, and it features a fascinating and sometimes disturbing performance by Terry Notary, the gifted actor and movement choreographer who has helped bring motion-capture characters to life in the *Hobbit* and *Planet of the Apes* movies.

But if many of the movies at this year's Cannes struck a somber or thoughtful chord, there was joy to be found too. In François Ozon's rapturously twisted, Brian De Palma–style thriller *L'Amant Double,* a young woman suffering from possibly psychosomatic stomach pains (Marine Vacth) falls in love with her therapist (Jérémie Renier), whose secret life draws her into a web of deceit and kinky sex. Yet more proof, should you need it, that the French really know how to live.

Sofia Coppola's *The Beguiled* offers ambrosia of another sort. The director has remade a seedy 1971 Don Siegel thriller (starring Clint Eastwood) into a poetic and haunting meditation on what men want from women, what women want from men, and the desperate depths to which both will go to get it. Nicole Kidman—who was the queen of Cannes this year, appearing in no fewer than four movies or made-for-television projects presented at the festival—plays the headmistress of a girls' boarding school in war-bedraggled 1864 Virginia. The women there—including Elle Fanning, who plays a student, and Kirsten Dunst, a teacher, both superb—fall under the spell of a wounded Union soldier (Colin Farrell) who infiltrates their stifling world. Coppola has made a serene, supple, gorgeous picture that hits more than a few notes of despair. Its skin is fair, but its heart is dark.

Among the most heartfelt films of Cannes 2017, Todd Haynes' *Wonderstruck,* adapted from Brian Selznick's novel, tells the dovetailing stories of two 12-year-olds, Ben (Oakes Fegley) and Rose (Millicent Simmonds), living 50 years apart. Ben, living in 1977 Gunflint Lake, Minn., loses his mother and, in a particularly cruel twist of fate, loses his hearing in a freak accident shortly thereafter. Rose, growing up in 1927 Hoboken, N.J., is also deaf, and she too has lost her mother, in a way. She finds solace at the movies, and in building miniature cities out of paper, a way of expressing herself outside the world of words. This is a love letter to the pleasure of making anything by hand and a story of finding your way to the people who understand you—and it's just a portion of the riches that await movie lovers in the months ahead. ◻

CANNES FILM FESTIVAL

TIME PICKS

MUSIC
Acclaimed British dream-pop trio London Grammar returns with a new album, ***Truth Is a Beautiful Thing*** (June 9), on which they team up once again with Adele producer Paul Epworth.

TELEVISION
After an ambitious fourth season, the Emmy-winning Netflix series ***Orange Is the New Black*** picks up mid–prison riot with a new season streaming on June 9.

PODCASTS
On new podcast ***Never Before,*** writer Janet Mock conducts in-depth interviews with unexpected cultural figures like Tina Knowles-Lawson, a.k.a. Beyoncé's mom.

MOVIES
The period piece ***My Cousin Rachel*** (June 9), adapted from the Daphne du Maurier novel, tells the story of a young Englishman (Sam Claflin) plotting revenge against his mysterious sister-in-law (Rachel Weisz).

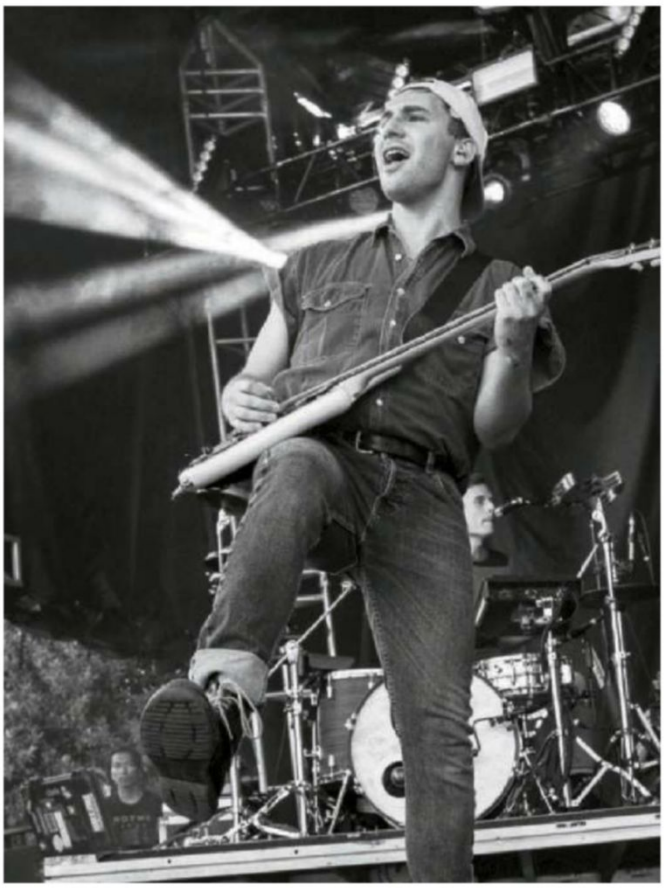
MUSIC

Jack Antonoff shines a light in the dark

WHEN BLEACHERS front man Jack Antonoff arrives in your city on his current tour, he'll have something unique in tow: his childhood bedroom, painstakingly reconstructed in the form of a traveling art installation. It makes sense, since Antonoff is fascinated with the idea of baggage, mostly the emotional kind. "We all have this stuff we carry in an invisible suitcase," Antonoff tells me over dinner at a tour stop in Seattle. "You can't keep it all, because if you keep it all, you can't move forward. But you can't let it all go, because if you let it all go, you're not yourself. The great balancing act of life is, What do I keep in here?"

Gone Now, Antonoff's new album, out June 2, offers answers. The music is deeply personal and more than a little bonkers—pop music without guardrails. (Antonoff calls it "the sound of a person going crazy alone in a room.") For the 33-year-old singer-songwriter, who has been in bands since he was a teenager in New Jersey, it's the opportunity to make music unfettered by anyone else's creative impulses.

After his rock band fun., Antonoff's most commercially successful project to date, earned a No. 1 hit with its 2012 single "We Are Young," he decided to pursue other enterprises. Since then he's released two albums as Bleachers and written hits with artists including Taylor Swift and Lorde. That has made him one of the most in-demand craftsmen in the current pop economy.



Antonoff, formerly of fun., now performs as Bleachers

Antonoff's greatest strength is as a songwriter, whether for himself or for other artists. He's willing to tell deeply emotional stories—to unpack all that "stuff"—without the disaffected cool that's common in pop. He also writes frequently about mental illness, including his struggles with anxiety and grief. "You wake up one day and don't want to get out of bed?" he asks. "Maybe it's not because you're a loser. Maybe it's because you're depressed." The result taps into a chorus of work about young people grappling with mental health, like the musical *Dear Evan Hansen* and *13 Reasons Why,* Netflix's series on teen suicide.

On *Gone Now,* even profound sadness hums with electricity. "Sometimes I wish that I wasn't myself," he sings on the bouncy "Hate That You Know Me." Like many of his lyrics, it's loaded. But Antonoff's gift is that when he sings it, it doesn't sound heavy.

—SAM LANSKY

CLOSE COLLABORATORS
Antonoff tapped his longtime girlfriend, *Girls* creator Lena Dunham, to direct the colorful video for the *Gone Now* lead single, "Don't Take the Money"

MY COUSIN RACHEL: FOX SEARCHLIGHT; ANTONOFF: SCOTT LEGATO—FILMMAGIC/GETTY IMAGES

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Wonder Woman: a perfect paradox for the generation that expects to have it all

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

WE WOMEN AND GIRLS OF THE 21ST CENTURY WEAR OUR empowerment on our sleeves. But sometimes I think that all those WE CAN DO IT and GIRLS RULE T-shirts are meant as much for our own reassurance as they are brave declarations to the world—mantras we hope will carry us into a future that we keep insisting will be female.

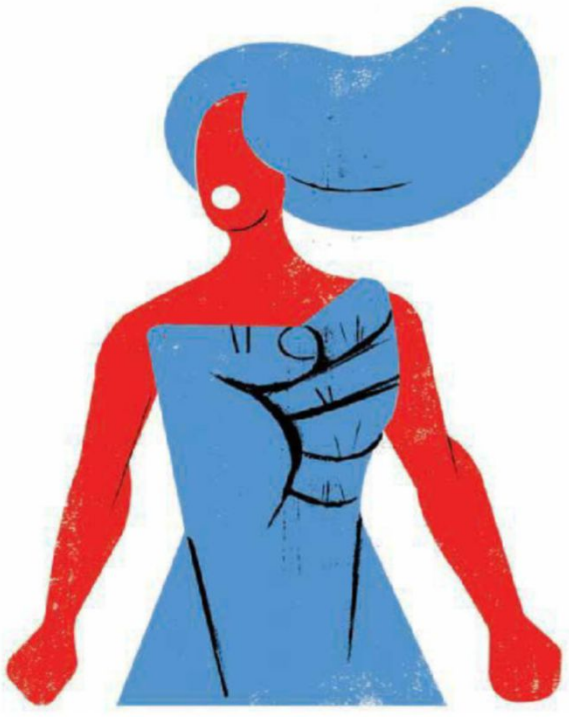
It's little surprise that one of the summer's hit films will be *Wonder Woman,* a fantasy that brings those slogans to life. She's a beautiful Amazon raised on an all-female island who can deflect bullets with her jewelry, lift a car, fend off a dozen armed men with acrobatic sword work and bring peace to a warring planet. And she does it all in a bustier, which might be the most daunting feat of all, as anyone who's ever worn a strapless top can tell you.

***WONDER WOMAN* COMES AFTER** summer 2015's *Mad Max: Fury Road,* in which Charlize Theron, as a one-armed Furiosa, takes down postapocalyptic tyrants while driving a giant rig through the desert. Female protagonists are still rare in action movies, yet just these two characters have put more raw female power onscreen than I saw in my entire youth. But while this generation has all that, plus Beyoncé, it's also subject to expectations about looks that might be even more pervasive now than in the sexist 1970s.

Back then, we had *Charlie's Angels,* with Farrah Fawcett and her over-the-top beachy sexiness, but that show was only on once a week. In the 1970s and '80s, some part of us knew that the pretty TV characters we loved were not aspirational figures (well, except for Farrah's hair) but rather caricatures of a kind, sometimes silly ones. They included Lynda Carter's Wonder Woman, who would twirl as if she was trying on a new dress to become a superhero with a benign, cheery sexiness that seems tame compared with this new incarnation.

Gal Gadot's new Wonder Woman is something else. She doesn't hesitate to say to Steve Trevor, the first man she's ever met, "What I do is not up to you." She's powerful and charming, raised as a warrior but dressed in what could be a sexy Halloween costume. The bustier is part of it: we have staked out the right to be both sensual and strong, though that too often gets conflated with an obligation to be sexy.

It's not easy to sort this out if you're 14. Never have there been images of objectified women available on more platforms. At the same time, we're awash in empowerment blogs that publish things like "How to Turn Impostor Syndrome Into a Superpower" and debates about who's more feminist. You can be reared on books like *Lean In, #Girlboss, Thrive* and *The Purity Myth*—their very titles are exhortations to get going already—and still be obsessed with *The Bachelor.* And somehow women can organize what was likely the largest protest in U.S. history and still make up only about 20% of Congress. (At this rate, we'll have sentient androids by the time the future is even half female.)



Maybe these paradoxes are why this new Wonder Woman seems suited to this moment. She does the impossible, and I don't mean the stunts. She leads without seeming to be unlikable. And her sexuality doesn't leave her vulnerable to abuse.

THE WONDER WOMAN CHARACTER is a particularly stark contrast to reality, coming as it does after the horrific terrorist bombing at an Ariana Grande concert in the U.K. that left 22 people dead, many of them young girls. Grande's concerts are their own mostly female islands of empowerment. Her Dangerous Woman Tour showcases a combination of ferocity and femininity that resonates with a generation of kids raised on girl power and Instagram selfies. During set interludes, words like *wild, free, strong* and *sensual* and phrases like *not asking for it* play on a huge screen—incantations that may be as much hope as they are reality.

In one of the videos for her most recent album, Grande wears a black mask, bunny ears and a bustier—the picture of another hot superhero. She tells her audience that they have the right to be sexual and safe at the same time, summoning the kind of bravado that comes so much easier to teens than it does to their mothers. Her lyrics are about feeling "bulletproof" and how she lives for danger. The terrible lesson of Manchester, though, is that even the strongest young women are no match for bombs. And there's no need for girls to chase danger; it still comes to them. □

ILLUSTRATION BY EDEL RODRIGUEZ FOR TIME

King Solomon's Secret Treasure: FOUND

Ancient beauty trapped in mines for centuries is finally released and available to the public!

King Solomon was one of the wealthiest rulers of the ancient world. His vast empire included hoards of gold, priceless gemstones and rare works of art. For centuries, fortune hunters and historians dedicated their lives to the search for his fabled mines and lost treasure. But as it turns out, those mines hid a prize more beautiful and exotic than any precious metal: chrysocolla.

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Sir Harold Evans The acclaimed editor, author of *Do I Make Myself Clear?,* on how to write better and whether precision and concision can survive the digital age

You discuss many writing evils in your book, from pleonasms to pesky pronouns. What kind of bad writing upsets you most? Writing that is deliberately designed to deceive—insurance policies, political statements. Business verbosity wastes money, confuses millions. I find myself getting much more angry about the moral question of obligation of fairness than I do about a misplaced semicolon.

And you believe in freedom from the language police? The language police are a bloody nuisance, some linguists in particular. The English language got corrupted by pettifoggers. Do you know that word, *pettifogger*? It's somebody who stumbles over a neck but misses the body lying on the floor.

You lay out 10 rules for writing clearly. Orwell had only six rules. Did he forget some? Yes. I know that I did. I'm not obsessed by rules. I'm just trying to say what helped me through millions and millions of words at speed when I was in newspapers and publishing.

I loved the section in the book about why FDR used *infamy* instead of *world history* to describe Dec. 7, 1941. That speech is really a masterpiece. Note that he said "the date" will live in infamy. Not "the day." That's why we remember the date.

Which Presidents have been the least clear in their writing, and where does Donald Trump rank? Donald Trump can actually be very clear. But the thought is zero, virtually. The real problem with him is not the clarity of language.

You talk about the seduction of Trump's *insistent certainty*. Exactly. It's very seductive. It is classic demagoguery. We're now in a situation of anarchic disorder. Trump has an ability to be clear when he wants to be and is aware surely of the immorality of falsehoods. "We're going to stop immigration. We're going to have a wall."

How would you grade the American press on handling the Trump era so far? Admirable. Many publications are not afraid to say, "This doesn't quite make sense." The press has escaped from the false objectivity of "on the one hand this and on the other hand that."

> 'Donald Trump can actually be very clear. But the thought is zero, virtually.'

Twitter certainly requires concision. Has it made any positive contributions to the practice of writing? Not much. Twitter's wonderful for assertion. It's absolutely useless for argument. You cannot deploy an argument of even the simplest kind in 140 characters.

What about texting? I understand its appeal, but we've got to have a capacity to expand, explain and give an example.

Do you ever say "OMG"? No, but I can understand it. I've never said "LOL," but I'm quite inclined to regard it a beneficial abbreviation. I'm not against acronyms.

You're married to a legendary editor, Tina Brown. What has she taught you about writing? Tattooed on my chest is what she tells me about writing. It basically adds up to, "Get to the point. Your point's down here in paragraph 29. What the hell are you doing with it down there?" She adopted the term *the vomit draft*. It's very uncomfortable to have your masterpiece be called a vomit draft.

You worked for Rupert Murdoch. What advice would you give him about the current problems at Fox News? My advice that he won't take from me is transparency. He's quite capable of telling blunt truths when he wants. He's not a fantasist. He has a brilliant, original mind. But the mess around Ailes and Fox is self-inflicted by a corporate mind-set, just like the self-inflicted crisis of the hacking stuff. Side with the truth tellers.

—EDWARD FELSENTHAL

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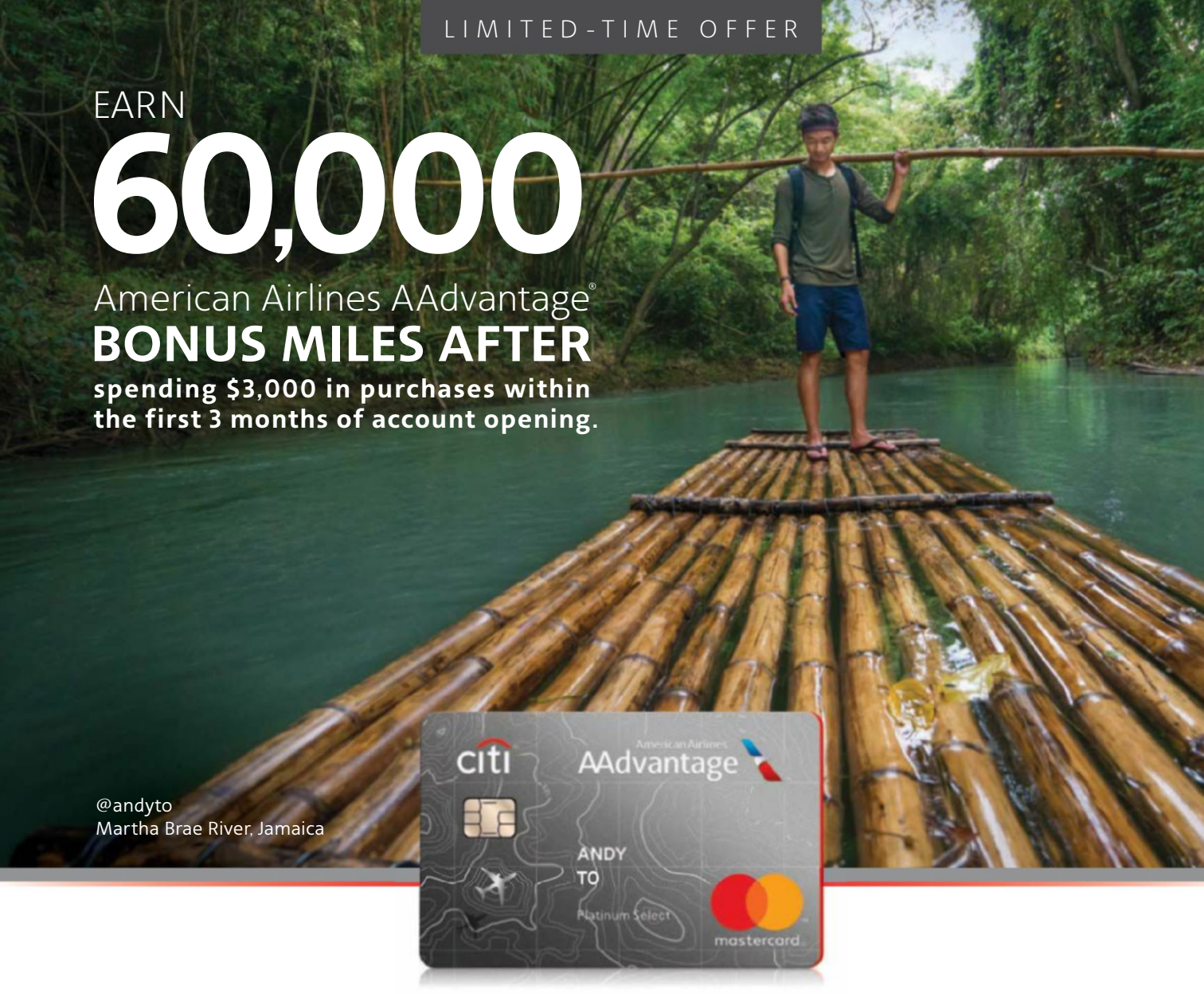

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